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SOME ASPECTS OF PROBATION:
AN EXPLORATION OF LABELLING THEORY IN SIX URBAN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

by



WASANTI PARANJAPE

A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for Acceptance, a thesis entitled: SOME ASPECTS OF PROBATION: AN EXPLORATION OF LABELLING THEORY IN SIX URBAN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS. Submitted by: Wasanti Paranjape in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore whether an official label as "probationer" may be associated, in the case of junior high school students, with other negative consequences such as negative teacher and peer evaluations.

H.S. Becker, in The Outsiders, contends that when a person is labelled, a drastic change may occur in his public identity. Social stigma may then develop from self--and public knowledge of the label, as people begin to impute other additional negative attributes to the labelled person. The "significant others" may assume a certain attitude of rejection and exclusion towards the labelled person, which may push the labelled person toward more extended deviant behavior. This cumulation of coercive circumstances may in some instances finally crystallise a deviant identity.

The report cards for the school year 1967-1968 of 46 students officially listed as "probationers" by the Prairie City Probation Office as of September, 1967, were matched with 46 report cards of the randomly selected and matched non-probationary students from the same schools and the same rooms in six Junior High Schools of a Prairie City.

The teachers evaluations of both groups were gathered on four variables: Days Absent, Academic Average, Citizenship, and Work Habits. A test of differences of means was employed. A null hypothesis of no difference between the probationary and the non-probationary groups was set up at .05 level of significance for all the above variables. Results showed significant differences between the two groups with respect to all four variables.

In addition, forms of sociometric choices were distributed to

the entire room where there was a cluster of two or three probationers. Students were asked to put down the names of three room-mates they would most prefer to be like, and three other names they would least wish to be like.

A total of 132 pupils in the Separate school system, including 17 probationers, responded to this sociometric test. These choices were designed to differentiate those students held in high esteem from those held in relatively low esteem among their peers. This test also substantiated that probationers tend to be negatively evaluated to a greater degree than those not on probation.

Both the teacher and peer evaluations tend generally to uphold our expectation that conventional avenues of adaptation may become decreasingly available to probationers, in line with H.S. Becker's contentions.

A further and more refined study of the same problem is suggested, using a time dimension--i.e., taking relevant information of both the groups before and after the fact of labelling of one of the groups. Other additional relevant information would be the study of long-range after effects of the labelling. For example, one might compare the rates of high school graduation in both the labelled and the non-labelled groups.

Finally, the school situation is only one area among many sociologically relevant areas in which labelling and stigma may be involved. Confirmation of labelling theory must therefore await the exploration and further refinement of findings in other areas of social participation besides the school.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

- A. Variations and Confusion in Definitions of Crime
- B. Variations in the Concept of Deviance
- C. Labelling Theory of H.S. Becker
- D. Procedure in this Study

Crime has always been a major social problem in all societies. Violations of the established norms of the society obstruct and challenge the smooth operation of the social and political order.

One of the important areas in the field of criminology is the search for the causes of crime. Research into the causes of crime becomes then, a pursuit of the antecedents and the establishment of the constants in their relation to criminal conduct. The very foundation of studies in etiological research rests upon the definition of crime. It is often indicated that the whole field is still largely impressionistic and in speculative stage of development.

A. Variations and Confusion in Definitions of Crime

Innumerable definitions of crime have been offered by the sociologists. Most of them prove to be legal norms clothed in a

sociological language. "Such is not the case" suggests Thorsten Sellin, in his book Culture, Conflict and Crime," of the definition offered by Makarewicz, who can be said to use the term in the sense of a conduct norm."¹ Makarewicz defines crime in this way: "A crime is an act by a member of a given social group, which by the rest of the members of that group is regarded as so injurious or as showing a degree of antisocial attitude in the actor that the group publicly, overtly and collectively reacts by trying to abrogate some one of his rights."²

Among the various instrumentalities which social groups have developed to secure conformity in the conduct of their members, criminal law occupies an important place. In medieval society there were different norms for each class or estate. In the modern world, its norms are theoretically binding upon all who live within the political boundaries of a state, and they are enforced through the coercive power of that state. The social demands for crime prevention and repression, the apparent precision of legal definitions, and the availability of concrete data collected during the law enforcement process have contributed to the imposing of artificial boundaries in the field of criminology. Thus for a while criminology became the study of crimes and criminals as defined by criminal law. This unqualified acceptance of the legal definitions as the basic units or the elements of the criminological inquiry was lamented by sociologists, as it violates a fundamental criterion of science. The scientist must have freedom to define his own terms, that are based on the intrinsic character of the material which are assumed to be universal.

The scientists feel that the categories set up by the criminal law do not meet the demands that are fundamental to criminological inquiry, because of their "fortuitous nature" and because they do not arise "intrinsically from the nature of the subject matter."³

The crucial problem that confronts us is, whether this manner of distinguishing criminals and noncriminals is significant for our purposes. It should be emphasized at this point that the data about the crime and criminals assembled in the process of criminal law enforcement, are a rich source, but they are not the only source. The need for finding some basis for criminological research which would extend beyond that of the law has been expressed before. For example Znaniecki attempts to avoid the legal definitions. He suggests:

"It is not only a harmful act, but an objectively evil act a violation of social validity, an offense against the superior dignity of this collective system. The best term to express the specific significance of such behaviour is crime. We are aware that in using the word in this sense, we are giving it a much wider significance than it has in criminology. But we believe, that it is desirable for criminology to put its investigations on a broader basis; for strictly speaking, it lacks a proper theoretic basis Legal qualifications are not founded on the results of previous research and not made for the purpose of future research; therefore they have no claim to be valid as scientific generalizations--nor even as heuristic hypotheses."⁴

The limitations of the criminal statistics, assembled in the process of criminal law enforcement, are also to be noted at this point. "The distortions, introduced into crime statistics deliberately or negligently, form only a small source of the error in collection. The large majority of these errors are either partly or totally unavoidable because of certain problems peculiar to data-gathering

in this area. Some of the following errors are highly difficult, or impossible to eradicate: Failure to complain, differences in the application of legal processes within the same jurisdiction, lack of uniformity in collecting, and recording techniques, etc., etc."⁵

Thus, "conventional criminal statistics, i.e. the Uniform Crime Reports published by Federal Bureau of Investigation, are hardly adequate to provide a basis for establishing a crime Index."⁶

Also a considerable amount of unadjudicated delinquency by way of self-reports⁷ has been uncovered by the recent research in this field. It has drastically reduced the adequacy of criminal statistics as a crime index. Thus, it must be realised that the criminal statistics can not give us the total picture of the crimes that are committed in a particular society.

Thorsten Sellin disagrees with the meaning of the term "crime" as discussed by Znaniecki, and suggests that the study of conduct norms would afford a much sounder basis for the development of the needed scientific categories in the study of deviance.⁸ He stresses that "Conduct norms are, therefore, found wherever social groups are found, i.e. universally. They are not the creation of any one normative group; they are not confined within political boundaries; they are not necessarily embodied in law."⁹

Some sociologists depart from conventional legal standards to study all manner of "antisocial" behaviour. The recently developed notion of white collar crime by Dr. E. Sutherland¹⁰ demonstrates the point of issue. H.S. Becker¹¹ also suggests that social groups create deviance by making rules. Becker sees the phenomenon of deviance

as the deviation from both the legal and the social rule. P.W. Tappan visualizes the possible hazard in this course, when he says:

"The concept of 'antisocial' conduct is useless for purposes of research, even for the rawest empiricism, until it is structurally embodied with distinct criteria or norms. The words unfair, infringement, discrimination, injury to society and so on, until refined to mean certain scientific actions, are merely epithets. Vague omnibus concepts defining crime are a blight upon either a legal system or a system of sociology that strives to be objective. Particularly the definition of the new concept (white-collar crime) seems to be characteristically loose doctrinaire and invested with amazing diversity. Worse than futile, it is courting disaster--political, economic and social--to promulgate a system of justice in which an individual may be held criminal without having committed an act of crime. It must do more than condemn crime and deviation in abstract. Law has defined with greater precision and clarity the conduct which is criminal, it has more so promoted a stability, a security and dependability of justice through its exactness, its so-called technicalities and its moderation in inspecting proposals for change."¹²

Thus Tappan reiterates and defends the contention that crime, as legally defined, is a sociologically significant province of study. He also suggests that if certain sociologically relevant categories are to be made, they ought to be refined to mean certain definite actions which could be scientifically studied.

The classic report of Michael and Adler,¹³ the writings of Tappan¹⁴ and of Jaffery,¹⁵ thus suggest that the major perspective of crime should be a legal one. A similar position has been taken by many European (Continental) legally oriented scholars,¹⁶ whereas Sellin, Sutherland and Gillin have emphasised the need for a wider sociological unit for analysis.¹⁷ Wolfgang and Ferracuti feel that the difference between these two approaches is obviously more apparent than real, when they say:

"So long as the theory and research on crime, criminals and social reactions to both are based on normative orientations, that is scientific, and whose goal constitute a description, measurement, analysis or interpretations of patterns, uniformities, causal relationships and probabilities, we may assert that such theory and research comprise the field and our meaning of criminology."¹⁸

The above discussion about the difference in orientation of definitions of crime, legal and sociological, gives a vivid picture regarding the disparity between views about the basic concept--crime--in the discipline of criminology. It is intended to emphasize, that if criminology is at all a scientific discipline, the standardization of the meaning and the scope of the fundamental and basic concept of crime, i.e. to broadly delimit the scope and the meaning of the concept, is desperately needed. It is intended to stress the need of some agreed upon definition of the basic concepts for any scientific investigation, future research and replication. The confusion regarding the definition of crime is unfortunate, for the whole subject depends upon the clear understanding the basic concepts. M.R. Cohen aptly criticises these typical sloughs of social science. He emphasizes the need to attain universal statements about partial aspects of all the phenomenon in a given class.¹⁹

B. Variations in the Concept of Deviance

The above discussion brings us an opportunity to introduce the discussion about the term deviance and the deviant behaviour.

Deviant behaviour is the behaviour that violates someone's or some group's normative rules. "This definition conceals a number of troublesome ambiguities," says Albert Cohen, "--so troublesome that a number of sociologists have concluded that it is impossible to reach an agreement on a definition and therefore to stake out a field of scientific study called "deviant behaviour."²⁰

Generally speaking, deviant behaviour is a fact of social life in all societies. People in society define certain acts as violations of rules and certain individuals as rule-breakers. Acts and individuals so defined, elicit certain characteristic responses, from gentle ribbing to violent retribution. It is also to be noted that the borderlands of deviance and conformity are obscure and this fact is not entirely a product of sociological confusion. We know that people are often unsure of themselves and cannot always agree on what is deviant. Also there are segments of population such as medical doctors and others who are marihuana smokers and drug addicts, yet they can successfully avoid apprehension by the law officer. The same is true about the modern business and orthodox economic syndicates.

Deviance is often confused with social disorganization. Social disorganization may be defined as the dissolution of social bonds, the disintegration of social groups and the disruption of organised activities. "Deviance is not to be identified with social disorganization" says Cohen, "Deviance, if not contained, is always a threat to organization."²¹

Cohen suggests that:

"Deviance may be destructive of organisation in at least three ways. First, it may be analogous to the loss or defect of a critical part in a delicately co-ordinated mechanism. An organised social activity is such a mechanism, constructed of the co-ordinated actions of its members Vital points--at which deviance deprives the system of one or more components--can be determined only by analysing the organisation of the particular activity, and the part played in it by each component." These components for example, 1) by destroying the willingness of people to play their part, destroying the confidence or trust that others will play their roles, etc.²²

Another aspect of deviance is that, under certain circumstances, it contributes to the vitality and efficiency of organised social life. Durkheim suggested a long time back, that crime is an inevitable consequence of social complexity and individual freedom, and that it plays a useful role in life which cannot be replaced.²³

Considering the structural--functional aspect of deviant behaviour, cultural variability is one part of it. The second part may be understood under two broad classes, which R.K. Merton²⁴ discusses as 'aberrant' and 'nonconforming' behaviour. The aberrant violates the rules and his main interest is getting away with the violation; whereas the nonconformer aims at changing the norms by refusing to follow them.

Cohen²⁵ gives some inventory of possible functions and dysfunctions of deviant behaviour, which he does not claim to be exhaustive, in his book Deviance and Control. Much remains to be done by way of specifying conditions under which deviance of various sorts has this consequence or that, and at what point the spread of

deviance becomes destructive of the organisation.

At this stage two things are to be noted. The structural-functional view of deviance, though a less negatively "loaded" term, still implies a single dominant and more or less stable normative order. We find that the attacks of Gunnar Myrdal²⁶ upon functional analysis in sociology--that it is inevitably conservative; that it is an analysis of order of things and thus the order is defended and change therein is shunned; that the existing order is assumed to be right and the existing world is the best possible world, etc., etc.,--are also applicable to the structural-functional view of deviance. Secondly this order, particularly in North America, is the Anglophone middle-class pattern.²⁷ "Measured thereby, other patterns such as hippies, peaceniks, draft-evaders, ghetto gangs, et. al., come to be defined as subcultures, and these minor variations being subordinate to the dominant order are considered to be going nowhere. However, in a dialectical, conflict-oriented perspective, these "deviations" become "oppositions." Any of them might turn out to be the sources of key structural changes. To estimate their respective potentials, even remotely, would require an historical view in a dialectical tradition. A structural-functional analysis gets us nowhere. These are not mere deviances. They are not simply subcultures. They could prove to be decisive in the changing mainstream of tomorrow. In brief, structural-functional view of deviance can be seen as culture-bound middle-class apologetics."--suggests A.K. Davis.²⁸

The conventional approach of studying deviance has focused on

the deviant himself and has asked its questions mainly about him.

"The new approach sees deviance as always and everywhere," says H.S. Becker,²⁹ "a process of interaction between at least two kinds of people: those who commit (or said to have committed) a deviant act and the rest of the society, perhaps divided into several groups itself. The two groups are seen in complimentary relationship. One cannot exist without the other." The focus of attention, under the new approach of deviance, is on the interactive process and on the lack of sentimentality.

The interaction process implies that an actor's initial move alters his environment and thereby the conditions that affect his next move. However, such a general statement does not tell us much about the actual unfolding of the interaction process. It is necessary to translate this process into the language of some conceptual scheme that will enable us to grasp more precisely the relationship between the various stages in the process. Thus, Albert Cohen³⁰ suggests some directions for further exploration, taking the language of anomie theory as a starting point. Cohen points out that the response to deviance may be conceptualized not only in normative terms, but also in terms of what it, in turn, does to the opportunity structure of the offender. It may open up new legitimate opportunities or it may close them off. It may also open up or close off illegitimate opportunities. In brief, looking at the interaction from the point of view of either party to the process, the implications for him of what the other party does, has been represented by Cohen by means of a fourfold table.

	Legitimate Opportunities	Illegitimate Opportunities
Open Up -		
Close Up -		

It is to be noted that the study of deviance according to Cohen has lost its connection with the main stream of sociological theory and research. Albert Cohen attempts to extend the scope of theories in deviance by discussing a unified theory of deviance and social control as described above.

This alternative approach of interaction process, regarding deviance, claims H.S. Becker,³¹ has re-established the connections between the study of deviance and the growth of sociological theory and knowledge. Becker finds this evidence suggestive in the following two trends: One is that the phenomenon of deviance are seen in a context of similar phenomena in a more conventional setting. A second sign of the renewed connection between the study of deviance and the rest of the sociological thinking can be found in the extended areas in which students of deviance find objects of study. Thus, it is suggested that the traffic between the study of deviance and other areas in sociology flows in two directions. In studying those matters which have conventionally been the focus of research in deviance, we discover something about other problems of interest to sociology; at the same time, we find that the phenomena characteristic of deviance are found in all areas of society.³²

The research devoted to the problem of causation of crime has been very extensive. In the light of the above discussion, some of the significant and important theoretical formulations in this field are briefly discussed in the next chapter. The focus of attention is given to the logic of implications of certain theoretical positions common to much thinking and writing in this field. This brings forth the relevant issues and also a realization that, with the best intentions and despite much industry and effort, human behaviour is not completely understood. A theory is a possible explanation of an aspect of a particular phenomenon in question, which relates to the whole field of knowledge. The whole field of knowledge is the broad background of contemporary culture, the world of information, the beliefs and attitudes forming the primary components of the intellectual atmosphere of any people at any given time and place. George Vold³³ points out that no present scheme of theoretical formulation in this field is entirely sufficient and entirely valid to account for the full range and complexity of human behaviour.

C. Labelling Theory of H.S. Becker

In this section, particular attention is given to the theoretical formulation of H.S. Becker in The Outsiders,³⁴ regarding the processes of rule-making, rule-breaking, rule-enforcement and of labelling. In this thesis an attempt is made, in an exploratory way, to find out whether there is any evidence in one of the areas of individual

involvement, namely the school as an institution, regarding the second stage in the labeling process, as is contended by H.S. Becker in: The Outsiders.

Howard S. Becker, in The Outsiders, focuses his attention particularly on the labelling process and on the sequential steps of deviant careers. Becker's view, a variant of the symbolic interaction approach to social behaviour, characterises deviance as a consequence of the response of others to behaviour that departs from conventional norms, rather than the quality of the deviant himself. "Deviance," he contends "is the consequence of the responses of others to a person's act."³⁵

"Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infractions constitute deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application of others of rules and sanctions to an "Offender," The deviant is one to whom the label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is the behaviour that people so label."³⁶

In The Outsiders, Becker contends that when an individual is apprehended and officially given the label "delinquent," there occurs a drastic change in his public identity. Typical patterns of relationship among conventional associates become disrupted. Conventional others assume and attempt to impute to the person other undesirable traits for which he is not responsible. Friends, neighbours, teachers, etc. behave differently toward the person as a result of the label. Thus, by a cumulation of circumstances the

labeled person is forced increasingly toward deviant associates as conventional groups and individuals reject him. As he is increasingly forced out of the conventional world, movement along a deviant course gets underway. This movement involves a series of steps, each of which increases the likelihood of a crystallization of a deviant identity and of a criminal career.

The following steps³⁷ are cited by Becker as those leading to the development of a deviant career. First is the commission of a non-conforming act which is intentional, and which may or may not be a violation of law. Such acts are presumed by Becker to be learned through participation in deviant subcultures which are to some extent organised around this kind of activity. The second step in the process is apprehension for the deviant act and public labelling as a deviant. This step has important consequences for one's relation to conventional individuals and groups, and thus for the self-image and public identity of the person labelled. This new status, that of a deviant, leads to the attribution to, and assumption by the non-labelled of additional undesirable characteristics and activities of the deviant. Friends, neighbours, teachers, parents and a range of "conventional others" are assumed to change their attitude and behaviour toward the labelled person. As a consequence of this change, the third step emerges. This is the breaking of other conventional rules which the person had no intention of breaking. This is presumed to result from the nature of experience at the second step, and from the barriers to conformity in the conventional realm which it involves. The fourth step, finally, is movement into, and identi-

fication with an organised deviant group. This gives the individual a sense of fate common to others in the group. It is also presumed to be the point at which crystallization of a deviant identity is expected to occur, according to H.S. Becker.

The process which Becker describes may be seen as cross-cutting the entire range of institutions within which the individual is involved. That is, the family, the work situation, the school, among others are the areas in which this interaction process and its cumulative effect should be reflected.

In the exploratory study undertaken in this thesis, an attempt is made to determine whether or not this process is detectable within the school setting. We do not know whether a label of delinquent behaviour has the kind of effect that H.S. Becker suggests in The Outsiders, within the school institution. That is, if a student is officially labelled as a delinquent, is he rejected by the conventional others within the school setting, i.e., is he rejected by his peers and by his teachers?

Our assumption, based on Becker's formulation, is that if such a process is operative in the school setting this particular rejection by the conventional others would be evident in one form or the other. Thus our assumption is that this kind of pressure of cumulation of circumstances, namely rejection, will show in the differential evaluations made of the labelled and nonlabelled by peers and teachers in the school.

It is intended to explore the following hypothesis of H.S. Becker, regarding the process of labelling:

A deviant label leads to social stigmatization of the labelled.

This means that we want to test whether there is a positive association between a delinquent label and negative evaluations by the teachers and the peers within the school.

It is to be noted that the formulation of this hypothesis has primary reference to the second step in the process of labelling, as suggested by H.S. Becker.

D. Procedure in this Study

The sample and the procedures used in this study are as follows:

The labelled group for this study was made up of 7th, 8th and 9th grade youths with an official history of probation in six Junior High schools in a Prairie City in the Province of Alberta. This labelled group was matched with a nonlabelled group in terms of the following variables: age, sex, room, i.e. grade-level teacher, school, and residence, by randomly selecting every 11th card from the list of the non-labelled in the same grades and schools.

The teachers' and the peer evaluations of the two groups were determined and compared. For the teacher's evaluation, report cards of the labelled group and the matched nonlabelled group were secured. Teachers commonly use several fairly standard categories of appraisal in the school system. Among these categories we have selected these four variables for comparison of the labelled and the nonlabelled

groups: Academic performance, Days absent, Citizenship: which were condensed from the evaluations of i. dependability, ii. courtesy, iii. judgment, iv. emotional control, v. creativity, and vi. respect for authority, and Work habits. The data were collected from the report cards of forty-six labelled and forty-six nonlabelled in the 7, 8 and 9 grades within six Junior High schools (4 Separate and 2 Public Schools) in a Prairie city. In addition the total of 132 pupils in the four Separate schools, including 17 labelled youths, responded to a sociometric test administered by the respective room teachers on our behalf. Each student was asked to make positive and negative choices among the fellow students in his grade. These choices were designed to differentiate those students held in high esteem from those maintaining low esteem among other peers. These data were collected by the teachers in the four Separate schools, and were sent to us. These peer evaluations were determined and compared.

Our assumption was that those with an official label of delinquency, would be negatively evaluated to a greater degree than those who were nonlabelled, by both peers and teachers. Becker assumes that the conventional avenues of behaviour are decreasingly available to the labelled, and thus unconventional ways (as reflected in the teacher and peer evaluations) are increasingly resorted to by the labelled.

Our findings generally uphold the above expectations. The difference between the two groups is found to be significant for all four variables within the population of the six schools explored. This exploratory effort illuminates the situation of the labelled

within a school environment. A more detailed account of the procedure and methodology is discussed in the chapter five of this thesis.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER I

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³⁰ A.K. Cohen, Deviance and Control, Ibid., p. 112.

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³⁵ H.S. Becker, The Outsiders, Ibid., p. 9

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CHAPTER II

Review of Some Major Aspects of the Literature

- A. Biological Determinism
- B. Self-Determinism
- C. Cultural Determinism

Etiological approaches to crime and deviance are varied. This undoubtedly reflects in part, our curiosity to discover why man behaves and misbehaves as he does. In this chapter the focus of attention is given to the logic and the implications of certain theoretical positions. It may be seen that any one theoretical formulation is perhaps adequate enough to explain certain aspects of human behavior in a particular situation, but it is not sufficient and valid or exhaustive enough to explain all the facets of the phenomenon of deviance.¹

In the middle ages, thought in this field was tremendously influenced by syncretism. The deviant individual was often supposed to have been possessed and driven by the devil. Around the 14th century 'Witch-craft' and 'Witch-hunting' became popular. Modern scientific thought has abandoned demonology for its circular logic, and for its denial of human capacity of rationality and intelligence.

It is significant to note the contributions made by Spinoza. Around the 17th century, he sought to formulate mathematical equations to express the principle of social relations. Then we find that the Classical and the Neo-Classical theories² are essentially prescientific in any modern

sense, but they offer some important ideas and basic concepts about the nature of man. The ideas of society, the philosophy of origins, and the relations between the individual and the group, were evolved in this process. Along with the above ideas, the concept of free will, the acceptance of the right of the society to punish, the acceptance of some criminal code as a system of punishment for forbidden acts, were advanced.

It is important to recognize that around 1791, Beccaria advocated the view that prevention of crime is more important than punishment for crime. Rigorous revisions of the criminal code were made at this time. Modifications, such as the distinguishing of acts by insane persons, minors and habitual offenders were made. Thus the 'Hebrew Doctrine' of 'Divine Sanction' for the law, and the ideas of Greek "Naturalism" seemed to be fused in Roman Law, the justification for which was based on the 'nature of things.' Modern social science continues this naturalistic approach and in this respect three different categories may be usefully distinguished.

A. Biological Determinism

According to this approach, man is fundamentally thought to be a biological organism subject to the laws of biology. Man is not a self-determining agent, and is not free to do as he wishes, i.e., his intelligence cannot operate to find out what is desirable behavior for him. His basic organism has already determined how he must behave.

Under this approach human beings have changed, not by their intelligence, but by slow biological evolution. Theories of heredity, physical attributes and body types are included under this approach.

B. Self-Determinism

The idea underlying this approach is that the fundamental qualities of man are his intelligence and rationality. With careful training and education man is able to control his destiny. Thus, intelligence makes man capable of self-direction. Under this approach the theories of psychological and psychiatric orientations toward crime are discussed.

C. Cultural Determinism

Under this approach man is said to be born into a culture. Human beings are the reflections of the characteristics of the social and cultural world in which they happen to function. Biological factors are not the source or explanation of culture and, thus, do not explain particular cultural phenomenon. The phenomenon of speech, for example, reflects cultural determinism very well; the biological ability to vocalize becomes functionless outside a cultural setting. According to this approach, the individual is determined by his culture. Thus, theories of social and cultural orientation are discussed under this approach..

A. Biological or Body-type Theories

Throughout the centuries the belief in biological determinants of behavior has led to a recurring search for reliable clues and symptoms in the human physique. In phrenology, the human brain was considered to be the origin of mind. In the early 1800's, Gall initiated this theory. He contended that character and behaviour are determined by a balance of thirty-five faculties or propensities localized in the brain. Thus, Gall and his followers developed a system of character analysis based on the examination of the bony surface of the head. Phrenologists were among the first to maintain that crime was a disease as well as a sin. In general, they favoured more humanitarian treatment of criminals, and they opposed retributive justice.³

Lombroso, (1836-1909) an Italian military physician, produced a theory that a criminal represents physical and psychological atavism or "evolutionary throwback." His theory dealt with the born criminals, insane criminals and criminals by passion or occasional criminals. He contended that to these men, crime represented a natural and an inevitable way of life. Ferri, Lombroso's pupil and a sociologist, in 1881 thought that crime was caused by a great number of factors: physical, anthropological and social. This was the beginning of the idea of positivism in criminology. It involved multiple-factor causation, some of the factors being biological and others environmental. It should be noted that Lombroso consistently emphasized the importance of objective and measurable factors in the social science, and he was among the first to employ the methods of empirical science in a conclusive way in criminology.⁴

Thus, physiognomy was the theory that dealt with the relation of the facial features to abnormal human conduct generally considered criminal.

Johannes Lang conducted a study of criminal behavior of twins, and concluded that the tendency to criminality was transmitted with other heredity traits.⁵ More recent studies in this tradition have been done by the Gluecks⁶, Sheldon⁷, and Kretchmer.⁸ Sheldon's contribution is significant in the sense that it attempts to explain, to some extent, the role of biology in human personality and criminal behavior. Sheldon classified "soma to types," types of body build, into three basic components of temperament and personality: endomorphs, mesomorphs and ectomorphs. Every human being represents some combination of these three components, but the predominant component indicates the person's predominating psychological tendencies. The Gluecks have confirmed that most delinquents are mesomorphic in type. Kretchmer attempts to classify physical types in the following way: Asthenic, Athletic, Pyknic, Dyplastic, and mixed types.

Significant studies have been done by Healy, Burt and the Gluecks in the heredity and multiple-factor theory.⁹ In this study all share the view that the result was too complex to support any theory. In the glandular theory,¹⁰ endocrine secretions were thought to affect the human constitution profoundly, and this aspect was considered as a possible explanation for impulsive criminal behaviour.

The biological approach brings out essentially the malfunctioning or overfunctioning or abnormality of a defective biological organism, and its relation to deviant or criminal behaviour. In our view, the theories under this approach are considered to be weak and of limited

value, because the nature of their analysis is over-deterministic, in the sense that they imply that man's fate is literally bound by his physiology. These theories cannot establish and substantiate the relation of mind to physique. It is by no means certain that organic inferiority is a deciding factor in contributing to unfavourable selection in the human struggle for existence. These theories fail to demonstrate a consistent difference of biological nature between criminals and noncriminals or between normal and deviant behaviour.¹¹ Although biological theories seem to have limited value in explaining criminal behaviour, this avenue is and will always be open for further scientific exploration, as human curiosity has not yet ceased in this area.

E.M. Lemert brings in another perspective about biological handicaps. Lemert agrees that there is no necessary relationship between the extent and the nature of biological disability, and the variety of adaptations of human behaviour made to them. He argues that more careful analysis and a modicum of familiarity with the data indicate that the central subject matter in question, i.e., the explanation of deviant behaviour, is at least as sociological, or socio-psychological, as it is biological, and perhaps more so. He points out that although physical handicaps may partially restrict opportunity for achievement, the more critical operating limits come from an overlay of interpersonal and formal barriers founded on cultural stereotypes about physical defects. As many physically handicapped people say, the problem is less with the handicap than it is with the people surrounding them.¹² Joseph Himes,¹³ in his study "Some concepts of blindness in American culture,"¹⁴ comments that many physically handicapped people find the formal barriers of the cultural

stereotypes harsh and difficult. Lemert also points out that a large part of this consists of the imputation of special characteristics and qualities to deviant and defective persons, which become an objective framework for the development of subjective limits on the meaning and choices available for the physically handicapped. Lemert discusses the processual aspect of deviation, the acknowledgement of which is forced on the immediate social environment, by the fact that with repetitive, persistent deviation or by invidious differentiation, something happens "inside the skin" of the deviating person. Harold Garfinkle¹⁵ calls the definition of cultural stereotypes "degradation ceremonies," which is a social ritual of the destruction of a personality. He claims that something gets built into the psyche or nervous system of the person as a result of social penalties or of degradation ceremonies. David Harris¹⁶ points to the similar consequences of having been made the subject of "treatment" or a "rehabilitation programme."

These discussions of biological handicaps and the empirical analyses of organizational factors are significant for our purposes, as they bring out the social stigms of the public label. This is basically related to the present exploratory study regarding probation or labelling and the possible development of a deviant career.

It is fitting to make a passing mention of the theories of ethnic and racial origin at this point. Both Negroes and American Indians have very high rates of arrest and conviction for some offences. One theory about the high rate of crime among Negroes resolves around the concept of a special racial-trait psychology of the Negro; another focuses upon the Negro's specialized reaction to his particular environ-

mental difficulties. In the latter case, it is merely resentment on the part of the Negro against the environment and the inferior socio-economic position already assigned to him. Both theories suffer the same drawbacks as other purely psychological theories of crime causation. Assuming that Negroes are "impulsive," "irresponsible" and "lazy," it is still necessary to explain how these traits lead some to murder, to robbery and assault, and others to law-abiding lives.¹⁷ It may be partly true, due to prejudice and injustice. However, even so, a recent study suggests that Negro and White rates of crime in slums are about the same.¹⁸

American-Indian convicts are mostly sentenced for drunkenness, disorderly conduct and driving while intoxicated. A few years ago, the Chinese arrest rate was higher than that of the Whites in certain offences, but it has been established that the crime rate among American-born Chinese is negligible. It is also to be noted that the Japanese arrest rate has been constantly low. In short studies of crime rates in relation to race indicate inconclusive results.

B. Theories that are Psychological and Psychoanalytical in Orientation. (Self-Determinism)

In the past, criminal psychology has been developed by the jurists, lawyers, and legislators who created the criminal law. "The legal rule has remained (in U.S. at least) that depravity, viciousness, perversity, and all manner of queer behaviour, if not associated with irrationality,

must be considered as the behaviour of sane individuals subject to control by regularly prescribed court punishment."¹⁹ Thus, whether the act is a responsible behaviour of a sane person, or an irresponsible behaviour of a sick person is hard to know.

Aichhorn,²⁰ Friedlander,²¹ Rdele,²² and many others explain criminal behaviour in terms of a theory of functional psychosis. They hold that faulty personality, which is responsible for this type of behaviour, is the outcome of early childhood experience, childrearing practices, interpersonal experience in the family, and interaction in society.²³ By contrast, Freudian and Neo-Freudian schools attribute crime to psychopathic personality. They contend that crime is the direct response of the symbolic release of a suppressed feeling or an anxiety, which in turn stimulates a desire to get punished, in order to maintain the equilibrium of good against evil.²⁴

It would be unwise to depreciate the significance of psychological influences in delinquency and crime. The mental factor is regarded in law as "mens rea," that needs to be proved in every act of crime. Essentially under self-determinism, the fundamental qualities of man are his intelligence and rationality, and with careful training and education man is able to control his destiny. The real difficulty lies in the interpretation of the psychological factors and in weighing their influence upon criminal behaviour. Psychological theories have no answer as to what makes man succumb or give in to fantasies so that his actions become criminal acts. There are many studies, but there is little unanimity among them. They fall short of the idea of theory as a body of comprehensive generalizations about a particular set of

empirical factors.²⁵

The culture-personality theories, i.e., the psychological theories of crime causation, have yet to prove their worth to sociology, says E.M. Lemert. On the other hand, he suggests that we need not reject the postulate that psychic processes vary with positions occupied by individuals in social structures, particularly when the processes are carefully defined in terms of commitment, involvement, and participation.²⁶ Exclusion²⁷ from groups and social isolation²⁸ may be important variables in accounting for the development of certain forms of deviation. In an exploratory examination regarding social stigma and deviant careers such as this thesis--the above discussed variables are also significant. Social isolation from others, arising in a variety of ways, can alter significantly if not ephemerally, the emphasis placed on certain values and the perception of the means of both availability of choice and of moral responsibility.

C. Cultural Determinism

Many social theorists attempt to translate broad and relatively abstract concepts into variables that could be meaningful on the level of individual motivation. They are so rich and diverse that it is difficult to present all of them. Broadly speaking the approach is twofold: a) Theories of social structure: these theories generally deal with how crime arises in a given society; b) Theories of the

criminalization process: these deal with how a person becomes a criminal. Some of the theories are discussed below very briefly.

The structural theorists have seen the genesis of criminal behaviour as an aspect of social structure. Criminal sociology is suggested as early as the 19th century by Ferri,²⁹ where he said that crime results from various combinations of anthropological, physical, and social factors. Von Hentig,³⁰ one of the foremost of the European exponents of criminal sociology, contended that criminal behaviour springs from the interplay of two groups of forces: the individual tendencies of human beings, and the manifold forces operating from without.

Emil Durkheim,³¹ maintained that crime is a normal phenomenon in every society, characterised by heterogeneity and social change.

"This is to affirm that it is a factor in public health, an integral part of the healthy society. Crime is an inevitable consequence of social complexity and individual freedom; it is one of the prices paid for freedom. Nothing is good indefinitely. Not only is crime necessarily derived from the very constitution of the organism, it plays a useful role in life, which is irreplaceable. Thus, criminal is no longer unsocial being a parasitic, a strange and unassimilable body, introduced in the midst of the society."

The conception of criminal as both normal and pathological is unique to Durkheim. His theory is counted as one of the most outstanding and significant contributions of sociology to the study of crime. The recent view of crime as an expression of social disorganisation has considerably depreciated the wide acceptance of his theory.

Thorsten Sellin³² attempted to explain criminality as the product of value systems fundamentally at odds with those of the culture at

large. He explained criminal conduct of immigrants primarily by culture conflict, and he explained the criminality of the native-born by the social differentiation which characterises the evolution of the native culture. There is no doubt that the conflict of cultures has some bearing on the behaviour of the individual, yet there is a confusion between conflict of interests and conflict of basic principles.

Donald Taft³³ has presented a systematic restatement of Durkheim's original position. He describes, in detail, various aspects of contemporary culture. He argues that various situations and aspects of contemporary culture create a gulf between precept and practice, giving rise to crimogenic elements in the general culture. Hence, for example, he contends that such a culture must expect considerable crime, which can be attributed to its own inherent qualities. "In this way," he says, "we get the criminals we deserve."

Robert Merton³⁴ suggests that some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in society to engage in non-conforming conduct. He contends that certain aspects of the social structure generate circumstances in which violation of the social codes represent "normal" responses. Merton here focuses on two aspects of the society: a) cultural structure as an organised set of normative values governing behaviour which is common to the members of the designated society or group; b) social structure as institutionalized norms regulating the acceptable manner of reaching these cultural goals. Merton uses the term "anomie" to describe the breakdown of the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between cultural

norms and goals and the societally structured capacities of members of the group to act in accordance with them. Merton sets out a typology of modes of adaptations---e.g.---conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion. In this way, the genesis of criminal behaviour is described by Merton.

The concept of the pressure of cultural structure and its differential impact on each strata, and the differential access of people to the opportunity structure of the institutionalised means to cultural goals---these factors could not be readily measured for their very generality. Some studies³⁵ have investigated hypotheses drawn from Merton's theory, and found no evidence to support them. Close examination of literature on the subject compels us, says E.M. Lemert, to admit that the term "culture" has never been satisfactorily or fully defined, and it is highly doubtful that a theoretical line between culture and structure can be maintained in data analysis, save in most general way. Lemert³⁶ is highly critical of Merton's work. He finds that the reification of the "usage of culture" by Merton is circular, and he asserts that Merton has excessively simplified the complexities of "ends and means" and their relationship in modern societies. Ralph Turner³⁷ raises an issue on the "anomie" formulation and finds the "ends and means scheme" difficult to apply. It is also to be noted that Bernard Landers and others find delinquency fundamentally related only to anomie and not to poor socio-economic conditions.³⁸

These are some significant sociological theories which try to explain deviation in terms of some aspect of social structure. It is very difficult to put them to any empirical test because the concept

of deviance is abstract and vague. Thus, these formulations, though important for their theoretical significance, are not found to be adequate for practical, empirical or predictive purposes.

The other approach of sociological theories of deviance focuses mainly on the criminalisation process. It seeks to explain how a person becomes criminal or deviant. This environmental school does not believe in the age-old qualitative difference between the deviant and the nondeviant, as biologists and the psychologists believe. Sociologists suspect that deviation may be actuated by the same motives that move people generally. If the same motives underlie different forms of deviant behaviour, it becomes necessary to explain how different people come to pursue similar ends by different means.

Gabriel Tarde,³⁹ under this orientation, claimed that crime and delinquency are learned as trades, pretty much as fashions are. His theory is based on the learning theory. According to him, the push must override the internal control and the external containment. If there is resistance to embracing a pattern, "suggestion and imitation" will not take place. Thus, crime is not a disease or physical or mental state of activity, but an activity that is learned as a profession. The social processes that produce criminals are no different in kind from those that produce members of other professions. In this formulation, Tarde anticipated not only "the ecological school," but also the "theory of differential association."

William Bonger⁴⁰ contended that motivation of criminal conduct is rooted in the economic condition of our life. The economically competitive rather than the socially righteous attitude of the mind is

accepted in our culture, whenever the two conflict. A person is said to lack initiative, enterprise and drive if he fails to strive in the competition for material gains. Industrial aspects of modern society is often unsocial and antisocial. In this context, Adam Smith's quote brings out the essential idea, when he says, "Man is a rational animal that seeks material satisfaction or that utilizes his energy in competition with his followers."⁴¹

Bonger thus maintained that the motivation for criminal conduct is in the economic conditions of our life. Individuation, competition and specialization, operating through trade relations, have created economic interdependence. Family, community, nation, region and the world are today interdependent. Criminal and noncriminal alike are largely unconscious of their interdependence. Failure to recognise this interdependence is one of the major causes of crime. Interdependence makes courtesy (in the broad sense of the word, recognition of the rights of others) more rational than self-centered material striving. The business depression, the lingering effect of World War II, the continued demoralising consequences of the cold war, the emphasis on violence, and on preparation for war, etc.,--all these things stimulate crimogenic behaviour. Some of the factors that cause economic discomfort and, hence intensify motives for action, are as follows:

a) material satisfaction; b) dissatisfaction with low income. Our culture gives prestige on the basis of material advantage.

In this manner, Bonger contends that crime is an expression of human selfishness, and all crime is the product of the capitalistic system. Economic systems are relative and not absolute. Neither free

enterprise nor extreme communism exists. Yugoslavia, Red China, U.S.S.R. and United Kingdom have state socialism, in varying degrees, whereas the American economy can be seen not as a free enterprise system but a private collectivism which is interfered with by a free flow of competition. Bonger also discussed how economic values have permeated the family system and how the family has ceased to culturise, socialise and supply the needs of the individual. That the dominant economic system stimulates selfishness and a crimogenic nature in man is beyond doubt. Yet the gambling attitude may be one of the most conservative elements of our culture.

However, research into the actual behaviour of men seeking a living indicates that the influence of psychology and sociology have given reason to doubt the economic theory. Bonger's theory is not really put to any rigorous testing, as the validity of reports from the U.S.S.R. is questionable and mostly outdated. Also, many other aspects regarding crime, such as race discrimination, are not explained by this theory.

The "Differential Association" theory of Dr. E. Sutherland⁴² is another theory which is also based on learning theory. It seeks to find a cause in the early history of the individual, rather than in mechanistic explanations. Sutherland contends that "a person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violation of law." The essential ideas here are that criminal behaviour is learned in interaction with persons in a pattern of communication; and that specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations and attitudes, whether in the direction

of criminality or anticriminality, is learned from persons who define the legal codes as rules to be observed and from persons whose attitudes are favourable to violations of legal codes. Thus, techniques to pursue motives or desires or attitudes may be learned from criminal as well as from noncriminal definitions. This approach takes account of crime in the lower classes and of white-collar crime. Complexity of culture produces a variety of norms, which contributes to social disorganisation. American culture is characteristically disharmonious and inconsistent. There is competition, mobility and conflict of interest. Individualistic ideology laid emphasis on individual enterprise involving economic competition. Wealth has become respected above all other attainments, resulting in a general disregard for social welfare. We see reliance on the law, yet there is considerable disrespect for the law. There is emphasis on the success goal, yet little thought is given to the means by which it is attained. Democracy is presumably opposed to an authoritarian type of government. Nonetheless legislation is often passed in order to get special privileges. In this process, government, legislature, institutions and other means of social control are rendered to have much less effective control. Sutherland therefore contends that society is so organised that a premium is placed both on refraining from crime and on perpetrating crime. In brief, crime is rooted in social disorganisation, and crime is an expression of social disorganisation.

The differential association theory is most valuable for its casting of grave doubts on whether criminals or deviants were different in personality makeup from nondeviants. The concept of "excess of

favourable and unfavourable definitions to legal and conformity" is not clearly researchable because of its generality. "It fails to take account of the obvious differences in the somatic, temperamental and characterological make-up of individuals subjected to a superficially similar environment."⁴³

Sutherland's theory is widely accepted and as a result it has been scrutinized and critically analysed thoroughly by many contemporary sociologists.⁴⁴ His theory is essentially a theory of contamination by exposure. A specific social condition, or a series of circumstances, however widespread within the community, does not fall with equal effect on all members of the community. Thus, a universal condition does not imply universal motivation. This is one of the major problems of any sociological theory, that is, how do we explain why social factors that lead certain individuals into crime do not have the same effect on other individuals exposed to them.

In recent years there has been a revival of interest in Sutherland's theory of differential association. New light has been shed upon this theory in the modification known as differential identification,⁴⁵ by Daniel Glaser. What Glaser refers to as "differential identification" serves to "reconceptualise Sutherland's theory in role-making imagery, drawing heavily upon Mead as well as on later refinements of role theory."⁴⁶ The theory of differential identification focuses attention on the interaction in which a choice of models of behaviour occurs, including the individual's interaction with himself in rationalizing his own conduct.

"The focus makes differential identification theory integrative, in that it provides a criterion of the relevance, for each individual case of criminality, of economic condition, prior frustrations, learned moral creeds, group participation, or other features of individual life. These features are relevant to the extent that they can be shown to affect the choice of the other from whose perspective the individual views his own behavior."⁴⁷

In the development of differential association, Sutherland supported the theory by evidence that criminal behaviour is learned through interaction and participation in intimate personal groups.⁴⁸ Differential identification does not require such participation.

"Because opposing and divisive roles frequently develop within groups, because our identification may be with remote reference groups or with imaginary or highly generalized others, and because identifications may shift rapidly with dialectical processor role change and rationalisation during social interaction, differential association, as ordinarily conceived, is insufficient to account for all differential identification."⁴⁹

In terms of differential identification theory the individual engages in crime as a form of voluntary behaviour.⁵⁰ In any situation, the individual acts in terms of past identifications and present circumstances. These factors will determine the selection of the persons with whom one will identify. Those identified with may or may not be present. This is the reason that those who are inclined toward crime usually refrain from it in situations in which criminal behaviour could threaten their acceptance. This interpretation, then, may lead from legalistic classification of criminal behaviour to the analysis of behaviour (both delinquent and nondelinquent) as identification and role-playing.⁵¹

The implications of this theory as contended by Glaser are; 1) It

is a more adequate and parsimonious theoretical framework than any other. Its integrative function is indicated in relating diverse phenomena which may be associated with crime by intervening variables, in relating criminal behaviour with other behaviour rather than to distant behaviour. It can comprehend tremendous diversity. 2) It orients one to evaluate the rehabilitative effects of correctional techniques. 3) Diverse research groups are converging on differential identification type theory. 4) The role concept provides the principle theoretical point of articulation between analysis of behaviour of groups by anthropologists and sociologists, and analysis of individual motivation by psychologists and psychiatrists.⁵² In this way Glaser contends that differential identification theory as a frame of reference integrates criminal theory by giving that theory an image of behaviour of role-playing.

In Chapter 1, we commented on the effort of Albert Cohen to extend the scope of theories of deviance by beginning a unified theory of deviance and social control. We also mentioned the approach of H.S. Becker and others, that hopes to re-establish the connection between the study of deviance and the growth of sociological theory and knowledge. Daniel Glaser's formulation also attempts to extend the scope of theories in deviance by reconceptualising Sutherland's theory and by further refinement of role-theory.

Albert Cohen,⁵³ Cloward and Ohlin,⁵⁴ Walter B. Miller⁵⁵ especially give further theoretical perspectives on gang delinquency. Cohen particularly focuses on the structural deviance of the lower-class boys. Cohen's theory directs attention to the discrepancy between cultural

goals and institutionalised means. In essence, many working-class boys are driven to develop a delinquent subculture as a way to regain the self-esteem destroyed by middle class society. Thus, according to Cohen, since in the working class certain children are denied status in the respectable society, because they cannot satisfy the criteria of the status system, the delinquent subculture arises to deal with the problem providing status which these children can meet. Cohen, in this formulation, suggests "reaction-formation" as a defense mechanism against anxiety and the status-frustration common to and experienced by lower-class youth who join gangs. This theory takes account of many different sociological factors, such as: differential association, identification, companionship, learning process, internalisation of values and attitudes, reference groups, participation, psychogenic factors, and so on.

Many critics⁵⁶ agree that a delinquent subculture is the solution of several psychological problems for these lower-class boys who resort to it. A serious defect in the theoretical formulation, however, lies in Cohen's contention that delinquents feel that norms of their subculture are morally correct and right. A good deal of empirical evidence suggests that the delinquent exhibits a sense of guilt and shows admiration for law-abiding persons--e.g.--a reverence for his mother, who insists on conventional values of behavior.⁵⁷ It is doubtful that the delinquent is totally immune from demands for conformity to the dominant order. Thus they cannot fully escape condemnation. This theory also fails to account for the ambivalence of the total delinquent environment.

Howard S. Becker⁵⁸ presents another view of deviance. He contends that deviance is a designation applied by the society to the behaviour that departs from conventional norms. Social groups create deviance by making rules, the infraction of which constitutes deviance. Social stigma results from a deviant label and helps to solidify a deviant (self-public) identity. Becker stresses the need for acquaintance with the phenomenon of deviance. A more formal statement of Becker's formulation is treated in the later part of this thesis. One of the hypotheses in Becker's assumption about "social stigma and the subsequent development of the deviant identity" is also investigated in the exploratory examination of the school situation in selected Prairie City schools.

Etiological approaches to crime and deviance are varied. It is pointed out, at this stage, that originally in the history of jurisprudence, the concept of crime was considered to be a deviation from legal rules. In subsequent theories and in later times, crime is seen as deviation from conventional, social norms. Deviation from both legal rules and from social norms have become significant.

The concept of deviant behavior generally brings forth its dependence upon collectivity membership and positions within the collectivities. This brings in the discussion about "institutionalization,"⁵⁹ and comes closer to what Parsons⁶⁰ signifies, in The Social System, as the degree to which normative expectations are shared and people feel committed to their fulfillment. The term also connotes the degree to which rules are formally spelled out and backed by sanctions. The difficult question

of what are the rules of the system, thus, becomes pertinent for this discussion. It can be seen that there is no consensus on what rules are, because in a heterogeneous, rapidly changing society, there are few rules whose validity somebody does not deny, and whose application is not regarded as an illegitimate attempt on the part of some to enforce their predilections on others. Thus, there may be some people, stigmatised by others as deviant, who refuse to accept this definition of themselves.⁶¹

In brief, these are the people who refuse to accept the critical judgment of others because they deny the rules on which the judgment is based. If the rule has become codified into law, they either deny the right of the law to extend its rules over their behaviour, or insist that there is some "higher law" that takes precedence. Those who dispute these rules are seen as, and tend to see themselves as "outsiders."⁶²

This discussion does imply that as the consensus on the rule declines we must become increasingly careful to specify whose conception of the rules we are, at the moment, working with. It also implies that, since deviance depends as much on the existence of the rule as on the occurrence of the act, deviance may be created or expunged by changes in rules. Therefore, the explanation of deviance must be as much concerned with origins and changes in rules as with the behavior that the rules forbid.⁶³

It can be seen that confusion as to the meaning, scope and definition of deviance is still rampant. There is no consensus among authorities as to the demarking of the precise boundaries of this inquiry.

In this light, the discussion of what is crime and what is deviance, in our introduction becomes meaningful and crucial.

For the most part, the views of differing theorists have been parochial rather than integrative or eclectic. The result is inevitably a fragmented picture of the offender. He is presented as a victim of social or economic circumstances, the product of cultural conditioning, a psychological deviate, and so on. For convenience of description and interpretation, these findings are classified into biological, psychological and sociological categories. From the point of view of human behaviour, this separation is artificial and misleading. Mind and personality are inextricably linked with heredity and constitution, while responses to social and cultural environment in turn are related to the mind and body. It is true, as sociologists stress, that man does not live in a vacuum. It is equally true, however, that an individual's biochemical and psychological composition determines in part the resultant of the environmental forces. Thus, criminal etiology is a phenomenon of uniformity and variation of behaviour in human society. Kluckhohn and Murray⁶⁴ have put this relationship in this way:

"There is the organism moving through a field which is structured both by culture and by the physical and social world in a relatively uniform manner, but which is subject to endless variations, within general patterning due to the organism's constitutionally determined peculiarities of reaction and to the occurrence of the special situation."

It can also be seen that the theory is a part of the explanation of any particular phenomenon in question, as related to the whole field of knowledge. Thus, a theory is to be understood only, in a particular

frame of reference. Explanation of crime or phenomenon of deviance as a function of frame of reference has been a vogue among authorities for some time. Accordingly each approach generally regards itself as self-sufficient; not welcoming or accepting criticism from another point of view. Something very similar is true of those who reject demonism and accept naturalism; they have different frames of reference as to how nature operates. George Vold sums up the situation by saying that the explanation of phenomenon of deviance therefore lies in the nature of an individual. Indeed, most so-called "scientific" studies in criminology have devoted themselves to establishing significant difference of some kind between individuals who commit crime and those who do not.

This brief discussion of the etiology of crime is intended to give a general perspective about some of the theory that is developed in this discipline. It can be seen that none of these theories leads to easy explanation of either crime rates or of the individual criminal. Since remedies depend upon explanations--either for justification of what one wants to do or as verification of the means chosen--it follows that there are no easy remedies for "the crime problem." Criminology has been slow to develop authentic or sound theory, as it has not been firmly rooted within the context of general theories concerning human behaviour and human nature (i.e. micro and macro). Upon occasion some criminal theories that may provide a model for compre-

hending a limited range of related areas of behaviour,--something like middle-range theories that describe an intermediate area of related problems--have been developed. Many criminological points of view may be viewed as theoretical formulations applied to limited, particular problems without any connotation of an extended reference for those explanations. They have very little systematic relationship to the broader theories of crime, deviance or human behaviour in general.⁶⁵

In the next chapter we consider in detail the theory of H.S. Becker. To the subject we now turn.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER II

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²⁰ Ibid., W.C. Reckless, pp. 237.

²¹ Ibid., Reckless, pp. 237-238, 241-244.

²² Ibid., Reckless, pp. 297-298, 299 and 353.

²³ Ibid., G. Vold, pp. 114-120.

²⁴ Ibid., G. Vold, pp. 114-120.

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"Culture as a summary to describe model tendencies, also causes model tendencies."

37 Ralph Turner, "Value conflict in Social Disorganization.", Sociology and Social Research, 38, 1954, p. 305.

"Values become ends and means only in the context of particular act in progress, and there are no values which constitute ends all the time or means all the time. To apply the scheme requires the investigator determine what are really ends - a highly dubious process."

And Also-

E.M. Lemert, Ibid., p. 7

"The salient difficulty of Merton's purely structural analysis of deviation is the failure to separate out acts: 1. Acts that are learned symbolically and transmitted as a part of the culture through primary groups, and 2. acts that are products of contingent valuation, where there is a conscious selective process."

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CHAPTER III

H.S. Becker's Theoretical Formulation

The Outsiders is pleasant reading and a significant work of sociology. In this book, Howard S. Becker develops a theory in which he discusses two mild forms of deviation.

Becker offers insights concerning the process of deviation, as a tool capable of ascertaining the pattern of reality. He deals among other things with the power element and pays attention to structural aspects where the phenomenon of deviance occurs. Essentially, H.S. Becker is concerned with the processes of rule-making, rule-breaking and of rule-enforcement. In Becker's view, deviance is a designation applied by society to behaviour that departs from conventional norms, rather than to the inherent quality of the deviant himself. He contends that social groups create deviance by making rules, the infractions of which constitute deviance; and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders.¹ Thus deviance, as defined by Becker, is equivalent to the breaking of the rules of a particular group.

In this book, Becker deals with the aspects of deviant identity:
a) as a way of life, and b) as a more fleeting contact with deviance.

Becker points out that some violations of the rules are severely objected to, whereas some are treated tolerantly. The differential application of the laws depends upon the kind of rules that are violated. Some forms of deviance are more severely objected to by some social groups than by others.

Becker also brings to our notice that there are differences in the ability to make rules and apply them to other people. These include mainly power differentials, either legal or extralegal. Distinctions of age, sex, ethnicity and class are related to differences in power, which account for the differences in the degree to which groups, so distinguished, can make rules for others. Thus, he contends that men make rules for women, the Anglo-Saxon majority makes rules for foreigners, Whites make rules for Negroes, and the middle class for the lower class.² In this process of rule-making, Becker suggests that rules are generally deduced from values. Rules apply to particular people and must receive final embodiment in particular acts of enforcement. Becker claims that rules are simply drawn to serve a personal interest and a rationale is found in some general value.

Becker further contends that rule enforcement is also an enterprising act. Personal interest prods the enforcement agents to take initiative to bring cases of deviation to the attention of others. The enforcement agencies are skeptical and pessimistic; sometimes there is a fear of losing a job; sometimes enforcement agents use their position to coerce respect and to get a person labelled as an "outsider," even when that person did not commit any illegal act. Many innocent people get labelled in this way by enforcement agents. Sometimes

sufficient influence--political, social, religious, or economic--is used to ward off attempts at lawful enforcement. Becker particularly points to deviance within organised conventional institutions that is often protected by a kind of cover-up. These deviants protect each other from prying outsiders in various ways, so it is unlikely that they allow outsiders to view this aspect of professional deviance in the field of medicine, large industrial and educational organisations, or departments of Government.

Becker uses a sequential model to explain deviance. This means that the pattern of deviant behaviour develops in an orderly sequence. Thus, each step requires explanation, and each explanation constitutes a necessary cause of behaviour. In this model, career is an important concept. Career contingency, according to Becker, includes both objective facts of social structure and the changes in the perspective, motivation and desires of an individual.³

Commitment is another concept significant in Becker's discussion about career. Becker submits that normal development of any society can be seen as series of progressively increasing commitments.⁴ He defines commitment as a process through which several kinds of interests become bound up.⁵ In cases of deviant activity in a subculture, Becker contends that internal and external social controls are neutralised by sacrificing the demands of the larger society to the demands of the small group. He submits that these mechanisms lead individuals from the casual experimentation to a sustained pattern of deviant acts.

In Becker's view, the element inherent and necessary in the deviant career is the commission of an officially recorded, nonconforming

act. The act could be intentional, as well as unintentional--that is, an accident or something done in ignorance. Or a person could be unjustifiably accused of such an action. In normal circumstances, Becker means an intentional and nonconforming act, i.e., a deviant act that amounts to lawbreaking. He contends that when an individual is apprehended and thus officially given a label as a "delinquent" there occurs a drastic change in the individual's public identity. Typical patterns of relationship among conventional associates become disrupted. The conventional others attempt to impute other undesirable traits for which the delinquent is not really responsible. Friends, neighbours, teachers etc. behave differently toward such a person. Thus, by a cumulation of circumstances, he is forced increasingly towards deviant associates, as conventional groups and individuals reject him. As one is increasingly forced out of the conventional world, the movement along the deviant course or career is underway, a course which involves a series of steps, eventually leading to crystallisation of a deviant identity and a criminal career. One may argue here that the delinquent did not have conventional patterns of relationships in the first place. The delinquent may not have had a conventional home situation, but when moved about in the conventional institutions--for example, in a school, the teacher-pupil expectancy, the peer-group expectancy or the neighbourhood expectancy become conventional patterns of relationships.

Becker describes the first step in this deviant process as follows: the deviant identity is learned in the course of interaction with experienced deviants. The individual learns to participate in a

subculture organised around a particular deviant identity. For example, in the use of marijuana, initially the person has no experience of pleasure from activity, nor an awareness of most of the consequences arising out of that activity. Becker develops his thesis by studying two extremely mild forms of deviance--the case of marijuana smokers and the case of dance musicians.

The second step in the process is the crucial step of being caught and labelled as deviant. Becker contends that this has important consequences for one's social participation and self-image. It creates a drastic change in the individual's public identity. The individual gets new status. This new status of the labelled leads to the attribution and assumption on the part of the nonlabelled, of additional undesirable characteristics for which the labelled is not really responsible. Conventional avenues are shut to him. For example, the labelled cannot get a job easily. As a consequence of this exclusion and rejection, the third step emerges.

The third step is, the labelled may find it difficult to conform to other rules which he had no intention of breaking. Becker discusses, at this point, status-apprehension and expectation. With regard to participation, the labelled tends to be cut off from participation in more conventional groups. He finds it difficult to conform to other rules. For example, a drug addict is forced to commit theft as the drug is not available in the open market. Secondly, he may commit theft and robbery as most employers refuse to engage him or give him any kind of work. Becker also points out that some legal rules are instrumental in inducing the labelled to take a deviant course. For example, the

Police Act gives protection to homosexual prostitutes, and children in this situation exploit the fact, as they can make money much more quickly and safely. Thus, the consequence of being labelled frequently leads some to resort to deceit and more crime in order to support the habit.

The barriers to conformity in the conventional realm start the final movement into, and identification with, an organised deviant group. Thus, the fourth step is the acceptance by the labelled of his new identity. Becker contends that in this group, deviance is the main common factor. In this sequential model, career is an important concept, as it includes the objective facts of the social structure, and the consequent changes in the perspective, motivation and desires of an individual. In this deviant groups all face the same problems. This gives the group a sense of common fate. A set of perspectives and understandings gets developed in this subcultural group. A set of routine activities, based on these perspectives and understandings, is organised. Membership in the group solidifies a deviant identity.

The deviant group tends to rationalise its position with historical, legal and psychological justifications. The sort of rationalisation helps the deviant to settle down. To some extent, it neutralises the conventional attitudes still remaining in the deviant. The deviant, in this way, quiets his doubts, adopts the rationale and thus moves into a more principled and consistent kind of deviance. He learns to carry on his activity with minimum trouble. The rationale, on the whole, tends to contain a general repudiation of conventional moral

rules, institutions and the entire conventional world. The deviant, therefore, who enters into an organised and institutionalised deviant group, is more likely than before to continue in his desired way of life.

The consequences of the public label, as seen by Becker, are as follows. The person is rejected by his conventional group. Thus, the conventional avenues are shut off from his normal everyday life. As doors are closed to him, he is left alone to choose a course of conduct. One of the possible courses is to wait, following the norms of the conventional society as far as possible and without committing further deviant acts, until he is accepted back into his social group. The second course is to join the deviant group and lead a life according to the subcultural group's norms. After studying two mild forms of deviant subcultural groups and observing minutely the various stages of participants in the course of solidification of the deviant identity, Becker contends that the deviant identity gets more readily crystallised by the cumulation of circumstances around the person who is stigmatised by the label of deviant. He reiterates his claim that the deviant, who thus enters into an organised and institutionalised deviant group, is more likely than before to continue his deviant way of life.

Becker also refers to the persistent difficulty in the study of deviance due to lack of solid data on deviant behaviour and the paucity of facts and information on which to base theories. Becker is particularly interested to know the deviant's conception of himself, his views about society, his actual day-to-day life. This is a

distinctive approach which helps to get a close and complete acquaintance with the phenomenon of deviance. Secondly, Becker suggests that deviance within organised conventional groups and institutions, which is often protected and covered up, is another avenue not yet explored.

Herbert Blumer, says Becker, argues that in this type of investigation, as described above, the aim of describing the social organisation and social process of deviance is to catch the process as it is seen from the standpoint of the acting unit.⁶ Thus, Blumer contends that to try to catch the interpretive process by remaining aloof as a so-called "objective" observer and by refusing to take a role as the acting unit, is to risk the worst type of subjectivism. Becker disagrees with this point of view, and maintains that a sociological understanding of the phenomenon would mean the reality which emerges from the people we have studied, the reality which they create by interpretation of their experiences and the terms under which they act. Becker contends that it is better to view a deviant phenomenon simply as an occurrence of behaviour of which some disapprove and some approve; and that close contact with the subjects is the best way of studying the phenomenon.⁷

In the book *OUTSIDERS*, Becker has studied 50 cases of marijuana users. These were musicians, labourers, and technicians. The method of analytical induction is used in this study. This means every case

must support the hypothesis. The following things are observed and noted with particular attention to the process of deviation:

- a) History of the subject's experience with marijuana.
- b) Major changes in his attitude toward marijuana and in the actual use of it.
- c) Reasons for such a change.

In this way Becker is trying to understand the sequence of changes in attitude and experience which leads to the use of marijuana for pleasure. Thus, the development of the individual's immediate physical experience with marijuana and the way he reacts to various social controls are noted.

In the case of dance musicians, Becker offers a glimpse into their private world. Here is a group whose members feel driven from their own society in reaction to the pressures from the "squares," i.e., those who force the musicians to play inferior commercial music to make a living, and those who hold the whole profession of dance musicians in low regard. Becker describes the conflicts between the musicians and their significant others. The conflicting pressures, loyalties to the family, and the society and their self conception--all these things create problems for the dance musicians, and it is their response to these which decides the duration and the direction of their careers as dance musicians.

In this study, Becker finds that societal control makes the use of marijuana, or the playing of Jazz music, as the case may be, inexpedient and immoral. In a complex society, the process can be quite complicated, since breakdowns in social control are often the

consequences of being participants in a group, whose own culture and social control operates at cross purposes to those of the larger society. Becker maintains, therefore that the important factor in the genesis of deviant behaviour may be sought in the process by which people are emancipated from the controls of society and become responsive to those of the smaller (subcultural) group.⁸

Some of the criticisms of the book OUTSIDERS are:

"The non-causal approach that has been taken by H.S. Becker in analysing these types of deviance and the general conclusions he has drawn are hardly adequate to explain more severe forms of waywardness. The book's important sociological and human lesson is that the way man becomes and stays a deviant is the way he becomes and stays anything else. But the part of the story Becker leaves out in this otherwise is sometimes a terrible and terrifying way of being objectively unlike almost anyone else."⁹

Albert Cohen finds the book OUTSIDERS most instructive and an essential book for the social science students of deviance.¹⁰ The book not only deals with how deviant behaviour develops, but with the process of rule formation--that is, how categories of behaviour come to be defined, as deviant--and the process of rule enforcement, through which particular individuals are selected, publicly identified and tagged as members of deviant roles. This includes a trenchant analysis of how personal interest, the mobilisation of energies through "moral entrepreneurship," and the manipulation of publicity operates in the creation of deviance, through formation of rules.

"Becker does not claim that all deviant behaviour fits his theory, some of it can undoubtedly be laid to people driven by a generalised need to rebel, to retreat from reality, or to destroy society or themselves. For these deviants, a primarily psychological explanation

may be relevant. But such explanations have received so much scientific and popular attention, in comparison to the small number of people that are covered by them, the Becker's theory has some useful implications for public policy."¹¹

In the writer's opinion H.S. Becker's view of deviance could be classed with the second variety discussed in Chapter II of the environmental school. The social stigma is developed with the knowledge of the label, which enhances a certain attitude of rejection and exclusion. The main contention of Becker is: this exclusion finally helps to crystallise a deviant public identity and self-image. It is suggested that this information offers an explanation as to how a person becomes a deviant. In his study of marijuana users, Becker does not deal with why certain people want to use marijuana for pleasure and why certain people do not want to use it. The only reason he mentions is the initial curiosity to get high. Thus, Becker's formulation belongs to the secondary type of deviation rather than primary deviation, in E.M. Lemert's language.

Lemert¹² develops this distinction between primary and secondary deviance in the following way:

"The notion of secondary deviation was devised to distinguish between original and effective causes of deviant attributes and actions, which are associated with physical defects, incapacity, crime, prostitution, alcoholism, drug addiction and mental disorders. Primary deviation, as contrasted with secondary, is polygenetic, arising out of a variety of social, cultural, psychological and physiological factors, either in adventitious or recurring conditions. While it may be socially recognized and even defined as undesirable, a primary deviation has only marginal implications for the status and the psychic structure of the person concerned. Secondary deviation refers to special class of socially defined responses which people make to problems

created by the social reaction to their deviance
 The secondary deviant, as opposed to his action, is a person whose life and identity are organised around deviance."

Becker has attempted to develop a general sociological theory on the basis of autobiographical data. He analyses the deviant process and describes how it happens. In this regard, Carl Hempel¹³ says, "any systematisation is ultimately aimed at establishing explanatory and predictive order among the "bewildering data" of our experience, the phenomenon that can be directly observed by us." The scientific systematisation is done deductively or statistically, i.e., it is a statement of universal form. This systematisation could be at the level of empirical generalisation or at the level of a theoretical formulation. Becker's formulation is an attempt to explain the process of deviation; it is a description of empirical observation. We can hardly predict from this information, thus, it could not be classed as a theory of deviance in the sense of scientific systematisation. Also, Becker deals only with two very mild forms of deviation, and this information hardly suffices to explain more severe types of deviation. It is not an explanation of criminal behaviour per se, it is a description of perpetuation of criminal behaviour once the label of deviant identity is designated by the society. Becker does not deal with "the curiosity" which leads to indulgence in order "to get high" in the case of marijuana smokers. He just feels that the criminal act is done as one participates in a group, which is really a deviant subculture. The act could be motivated by curiosity, it could be simply an occurrence for some fun, it could be done in a spirit to

challenge the dominant order, it could be mischief as in the fireplay, or it could be lust for defying power that could be meaningfully restored to, and so on. The social-structural theorists try to explain crime and deviance as functional, as an aspect of social structure. Theorists who deal with the criminalisation process turn to learning, imitation, economic competition or conflict of values, etc., for an explanation. In this light H.S. Becker's formulation is an explanation of perpetuation of criminal and deviant behaviour in certain groups, once the label of deviant behaviour is designated by the society, and accepted by the labelled.

Secondly, Becker deals with the power structure in Western society. Becker argues that "differences in ability to make rules and apply to other people, are essentially differences in power potentials, and these power potentials are either legal or extra legal. Distinctions of age, sex, ethnicity and class are related to differences in power, which account for differences in the degree to which groups so distinguished can make rules for others." He contends that "men make laws for women, adults for the young, the upper classes for the lower classes and the Anglo-Saxon majority for foreigners."

In a social structure, the power structure can be seen in the following aspects: superiority of strength, superiority of knowledge and superiority of status (political, social, legal, military, religious, bureaucratic etc.) i.e., class, money, sex, race and age. The power structure of the society changes from time to time, and superiority in any of the above potentials also changes accordingly. Many sociologists are vocal about the different facets of power, e.g., C.W. Mills¹⁴ has

depicted a power structure of war-economy in America that is not democratic; John Porter¹⁵ also discusses various aspects of power and contends that with co-fraternity of the elites, Canada has no democratic leadership. Kornhauser¹⁶ and Riesman¹⁷ stress diversified and balanced plurality interest groups. In this discussion of power all agree that the power structure of any social group changes from time to time, depending upon changes in supremacy within the components of the power structure.

In this discussion of power, Becker deals with age, sex, ethnicity and class as aspects of power, i.e., superiority of status. According to Becker the rules are a creation of a specific group. Rules must receive final embodiment in particular acts of enforcement. Thus, members of the group consider it important for their welfare that certain members obey certain rules. Rules are simply drawn to serve a personal interest, and a rationale is found in a certain general principle.

We know that power potentials change from time to time, and the definition of deviance also changes along with the changes in societal values. We also know that legal systems are conservative, as a rule, and promote stability, security and dependability of justice through their exactness, their so-called technicalities, and their moderation in inspecting proposals for change. It would be interesting to have a quick glimpse at an attempt, made by J.M. Kelly¹⁸ to examine several different aspects about Roman Law in ROMAN LITIGATION. In this book, J.M. Kelly makes an effort to show how the background of a single institution might be illuminated by an approach based on social

considerations. In the course of the historical account of Roman litigation, he traces the changing values of the people. In the beginning, the law, its procedure and punishments were stricter and were in the name of God. Then the concept of natural law emerged. He points to disparity in power. Economic and social factors begin to gain ground. There is a slow and gradual transformation of "ideational values" to "sensate values" that could be seen in actual Roman litigation. The legal procedure and the manner of punishment of Roman period and of current times show a striking similarity. The similarity is mainly in the emerging social, economic and political factors, promoting extreme contractual relationships, utilitarianism, etc. This leads to disparity between ethical and juridical values.

It would be extremely interesting to find out how some of the values pertaining to power receive embodiment in particular acts of enforcement, and how they get vitiated when the power structure changes in our present social structure.

It is to be noted that though H.S. Becker initially starts with the discussion of power in a social group, his discussion is not exhaustive or conclusive.

In P.A. Sorokin's scheme of "Ideational, Idealistic and Sensate" cultures outlined in his book, *THE CRISIS OF OUR AGE*, we may trace these variables--of age, sex, ethnicity and class--to see whether they are historically significant. We find that the variables of age, sex and class are bases of power potentials throughout human history, as contended by H.S. Becker, but the ethnicity variables seems to have no historical bearing as such. The Anglo-Saxons came into power sometime

in the 12th or 13th century. The vestige of this power can be traced only in some parts of the world in varying degrees. Particularly in Canada, we find that an Anglo-Saxon majority is the dominant majority, as the legal system in Canada is based upon the legal system in the United Kingdom. It would be an interesting problem to explore the ways in which the Anglo-Saxon majority in Canada creates new definitions of deviance with respect to each of the minority group cultures, such as native Indians, Eskimos, Hutterites, Dukobors, Mennonites, Japanese, the French and Ukrainians.

Another interesting point regarding the definition of deviance in P.A. Sorokin's treatment of three different aspects of culture is worth noting. Sorokin claims that different categories of behaviour become designated as criminal, depending upon values of the age. What was criminal and deviant in the previous culture, does not necessarily become criminal and deviant in the later culture. Thus, H.S. Becker's definition of deviance, as a designation applied by the society to the behaviour that departs from the conventional norms; and that social groups create deviance by making rules whose infractions constitute deviance--this seems to be a very fundamental reflection.

H.S. Becker's power structure based on age, sex, ethnicity and class can be traced through the Statistical Crime Record collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. We find that Negroes and people from the lower class are increasingly represented and involved in crime, which is in agreement with H.S. Becker's power structure theory. But women, children and foreigners are not found to be involved in crime in great numbers. Men and Anglo-Saxons, compared with

other ethnic groups (except Negroes) have far more representation than foreigners and women. Also, more adults are involved in crime than the young, but the trend in juvenile delinquency is rising at a very high rate, and this fact must be noted.

At this stage of discussion, it is pertinent to note that the legislation as regards to the age limit for voting for younger people is undergoing reexamination, particularly in the United States, as President Nixon urged the U.S. Congress to lower the age-limit for voting. This may have implications for the power structure as regards age groups.

Becker's approach in *THE OUTSIDERS* appears to deal with several analytically separable areas, such as power, the process of rulemaking, the process of rule enforcement and the process of rulebreaking. The main concern of H.S. Becker in this book seems to be with the process of rulebreaking, the labelling process, social stigma and the crystallisation of deviant identity. The discussion of social stigma along with the views of other sociologists on this topic, is considered in the following chapter.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER III

- 1 Howard S. Becker, The Outsiders, Studies in Sociology of Deviance. The Free Press, New York, 1963 (Third Printing, 1967), p. 9.
- 2 H.S. Becker, Ibid., pp. 15-16 and 18.
- 3 H.S. Becker, Ibid., p. 24.
- 4 Ibid., p. 27.
- 5 Ibid., p. 27.
- 6 Ibid., p. 172.
- 7 Ibid., pp. 172, 174, and 176.
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- 16 William Kornhauser, Ibid.
- 17 J.M. Kelley, Roman Litigation, Oxford at Clarendon Press, 1966, pp. 159-168.
- 18 P.A. Sorokin, The Crisis of Our Age., New York, E.P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1941.

CHAPTER IV

Social Stigma

Many sociologists are vocal on the subject of social stigma. H.S. Becker contends that social stigma of an individual develops from self--and public knowledge of a negative label. The "significant others" take cognizance of the label; they assume a certain attitude of rejection and exclusion which pushes the delinquent into taking a deviant course. Becker states that this exclusion finally helps to crystallize the deviant identity. This formulation offers an explanation as to how a deviant or a stigmatized person stays a deviant, rather than how a person becomes deviant. As mentioned before, it addresses itself to the secondary type of deviation rather than to primary deviation. H.S. Becker's formulation is essentially delimited to the social stigma that is developed on account of being labelled as a delinquent in the process of law enforcement.¹ Of course, it does not follow, nor does Becker claim, that all labelled persons always become committed to deviant careers.

E. Goffman suggests that our society appears to have several basic types of stigmas. There are tribal stigmas, stigmas regarding a physical handicap such as old age or sex, stigmas regarding the decay

of moral responsibility--such as a record of unemployment, alcoholism, addiction, sexual deviation, penal servitude or being a mental patient. Thus, Goffman is looking at a much broader and wider conception of social stigma. Goffman explains what happens to the person when he is thus stigmatized, as follows:

"For some individuals, however, a realization occurs, whether suddenly or gradually, that they are less, or will be treated less than they have learnt to expect of and for themselves, and that the frustration of these ingrained expectations is due to the possession of an attribute that functions as social stigma."²

Goffman believes that a person with a label realizes that he is disqualified and involuntarily reidentified in terms of this disqualification. While discussing the stigma and its definition, regarding mental disorder, Goffman points out that the important decision, in the commitment to a mental institution is made before the complaint comes to the law court i.e. by the community and the family. Thus, the crucial decision of diagnosis, hospitalization and treatment is made usually not by the expert but by a layman.³ Goffman contends that a set of social processes thus gets formulated. He discusses this complex of processes⁴ under four different headings:

1. Interpersonal phenomenon: of self-hate, disassociation, and denial of 'secondary gains' by the deviant.
2. Interpersonal responses within the deviant groupings: This is similar to what Becker calls the common fate and the common problems deviants come to share, i.e. the injustice of the wider society.
3. Interpersonal responses between members of the deviant grouping and the wider society: The stigmatized vacillates between submissive withdrawal and aggressive assertiveness, also he identifies with the deviants before certain non-

deviants with whom it is possible for the deviant to relax.

4. Collective responses: Some organised action, such as a satirical skit. This is similar to the justifications of deviant acts by the stigmatized as Becker says in his theoretical formulation regarding social stigma.

T.J. Scheff, in "Mental Illness and Social Processes," tells of the definitional process, and also of the lay definitions and expert definitions regarding mentally ill. There is a definitional process of being adjudged mentally ill by the family, friends, community authorities and by the people themselves.⁵ M.R. Yarrow and others comment that individuals often do not utilize professional help for their problems because of the fear of the stigma attached to the help-seekers.⁶ The entire legal and medical decision-making process, particularly in metropolitan areas, appears to be largely ceremonial, as the important decision to seek hospitalization is made before the complaint comes to the law court.⁷

E.M. Lemert, in "Legal Commitment and Social Control," finds that neighbourhood or community cleavages are expressed symbolically in commitment proceedings. In this paper he reflects upon the isolated "visibility" of a Polish boy. He contends that isolation relates closely to the organizational basis of power. Being on the margin of the group, the isolated individual has little to call upon, with respect to the loyalties of others, to resist his own institutionalization.⁸ This lends some significance to other visible types of social stigmas, such as sex, race, ethnicity. A physical handicap, says Lemert, is also a kind of visible stigma. Although physical handicaps partially restrict opportunities for achievement, the more

critical operating limits come from an overlay of interpersonal and formal barriers founded on cultural stereotypes about physical defects. Lemert's further remarks are mentioned earlier in chapter II: they refer to limitations, and to the imputation of special characteristics that are imposed upon physical defectives and deviants, and to the consequences of having being made the subject of "treatment" or "rehabilitation."

Garfinkle⁹ describes the definitional process as "successful degradation ceremonies." He states that the factors conditioning the effectiveness of the degradation tactics are inherent in the organization and system of action within which degradation occurs. In this process, he finds that there is condemnation by the public of the actor's past, present and prospective behaviour that is believed to violate some suprapersonal or universal values. The denounced is ritually separated from the group, and he is made an "outsider" or a "stranger." The law courts and their officers have a monopoly over many such ceremonies as an occupational routine. Szasz,¹⁰ in "Diagnosis of Social Condemnation," points out how malingering is not a diagnosis but an expression of a physician's moral condemnation of the patient in general, and of the specific pattern of behaviour. Thus, he feels, this expression--malingering--should be eliminated from psychiatry and medical writing.

From the above discussion, the definitional process which Goffman and Becker and others talk about is found to be empirically valid. We believe that it is also sociologically significant from the point of view of social structure.

After the process of definition is completed, the exclusion or isolation of the stigmatized by the coalition of significant others occurs. Like Goffman and Becker, E.M. Lemert¹¹ also expresses similar views, on the phenomenon of exclusion. Lemert, in "Paranoia and The Dynamics of Exclusion,"¹² says that the paranoid person reacts differently to different environments. It is also true that "others" react differently to him, and this reaction, commonly if not typically, involves covertly organised action and conspiratorial behaviour in a very real sense. Lemert claims that these differential reactions are reciprocal to one another, being interwoven with each other. He concludes that organizational vulnerability, as well as anticipations of retaliations from the paranoid person, provide a functional basis for conspiracy among those seeking to contain or to oust him.

This is the same phenomenon of exclusion which H.S. Becker describes along the following lines: There occurs a drastic change in the public identity of the individual who is apprehended and officially given the label "delinquent." Typical patterns of relationship among the conventional associates become disrupted. Conventionally minded others impute to him other undesirable traits for which the labelled person is not responsible. Friends, neighbours, teachers, parents and all the people hitherto meaningful to the labelled, behave differently towards him as a result of the label. Thus, by a cumulation of circumstances, the labelled person is forced out of his conventional world, and is pushed increasingly toward deviant associates, as conventional groups reject him. As he is pushed out of the conventional middle class world, the movement into the deviant stream gets under

way--a course which leads toward the likelihood of crystallization of a deviant identity and in--extreme cases--of a criminal career. The first step is the commission of a nonconforming act. The second step is apprehension for the deviant act and being labelled for it. The third step occurs when exclusion and rejection of the labelled takes place. This culminates in the breaking of other conventional rules which the labelled had no intention of breaking. The fourth step is the movement into and identification with the deviant group by the labelled. Career is an important concept in Becker's formulation. Becker suggests that career includes objective facts of social structure which cause changes in the perspective, motivation and desires of an individual.

E. Goffman,¹³ in the study of mental patients, describes this process in the following sequential order:

- a) Prepatient stage, b) Inpatient stage, c) Betrayal funnel,
- d) Retroactive character of the career, e) Period of settling down, f) An effort to orient towards the system, g) The feeling of the staff "that he is able to manage," h) Redefinition is accepted by the patient; thus, there is a new identity and a rebirth.

Goffman finds that the loyalty of the patient to the next of kin and to mediators declines. There is mortification in this process of adult socialization which amount to rebirth. This patient with his new identity casts off the remnants of the old self. He needs to learn to seek a new role; he also can learn "to practice before all groups the amoral act of shamelessness."

It can be seen from this discussion how the objective facts of social structure bring about the change in the perspective, motivation and desires of an individual. The stigmatized or the labelled gets

moved along the deviant course, and finally the deviant identity is crystallized.

Danial Glaser and Kent Rice, while investigating R.K. Merton's postulate of social structure and its relation to anomie, reflect that once a person is involved in criminality (whether because of enculturation in delinquency or later conversion to delinquency because of the stigma of criminal record) his access to criminal means have been reinforced by differential association and identification.¹⁴

Marsh Ray,¹⁵ in his study of "The Cycle of Abstinence And Relapse Among Heroin Addicts," considers some secondary characteristics of addicts. For example, incarceration changes the status and identity of the addict, calling into question the addict's previous identity. He is judged in terms of secondary social definition. Disruption of his previous ordering of social experience becomes familiar to him. The addict rejects the identity foisted upon him and also the values that are attached and associated with it. Yet, as time goes on, this individual accepts the identity of the addict, as there is no way out. The addict's self is in transition as he desires the ratification of his new identity.

There arises a change in his relation with his significant others. Marsh Ray comments that in spite of the ratification of the new identity, a budding sense of abstention is initially developed in the addict. Ray comments that social expectations of other addicts at the hospital are of vital importance in creating atmosphere to help the addict. The addict's identification with the values of the non-addicted society is difficult to maintain in this situation. Social

isolation from the values of the conventional society and a re-establishment of relationships to the social world of addiction are experienced by this individual. In conclusion, M. Ray reflects upon the development through shared roles and common interpersonal and institutional experience, and he concludes that, as a consequence of these experiences, addicts develop new perspectives about themselves in relation to the nonaddicted society.

E.C. Hughes¹⁶ points to the expected and the natural combination of auxiliary characteristics that become embodied in a stereotype. He finds that the expectations about the incumbent of status positions are constantly violated in our mobile society. He finds that the resulting contradictions and dilemmas are solved in various ways, some of which are illustrated in the conflict and evolution of the relationships between the sexes, races and ethnic groups of our society. For example, a woman may occasionally become an engineer; or a Negro, a benefactor or an employer. In this way, old stereotypes may in time be modified. Likewise, stereotypes about deviance are sometimes subject to change.

R.A. Dentler and Kai Erickson¹⁷ bring out this facet of the social structure. In their investigation, they propose that:

- a) Groups tend to induce, sustain and permit deviant behaviour.
- b) Deviant behaviour functions in enduring groups to help maintain group equilibrium.
- c) These groups resist any trend toward alienation and thus deviance is tolerated up to the point where deviant expression becomes critically dangerous for the solidarity of the group.

In this way, they directed attention to the functional inter-

dependence of deviants and organization. Dentler found in Quaker work camps that members prided themselves in their acceptance of deviance. They rejected such controls as ridicule and personal rejection. Erickson found that in U.S. Army Training camps, the groups give wide licence to deviates both from performance and behaviour norms.¹⁸

K.O. Milner,¹⁹ in "The Environment As A Factor In A Etiology Of Criminal Paranoia," draws attention to the environmental stresses to which some of mental patients have been subjected. He contends that criminal paranoia is an inescapable predicament. He studied some 65 cases of mental patients, among which there are 19 cases of criminal paranoia. He concludes that these paranoid subjects had grave internal and external difficulties, which may be regarded as an almost inevitable reaction to an unbearable and inescapable social environment. The part played by the external situation is more likely shown in criminal than in noncriminal paranois. He comments that in this paranois "the truth is sometimes almost as strange as delusional fiction."

SUMMARY

The facts regarding social stigma, from the theoretical as well as the empirical point of view, may be summed up in the following way:

1. Social groups use different labels to assign status to an individual. The previously discussed papers, particularly relate social labels which create social stigma. Thus, the present writer intends to delimit the discussion to social labels that create social stigma.

2. Social groups appear to use social stigma to control (in part) behaviour. It can be seen that social groups tolerate deviant behaviour up to a point. When the critical limit is reached, beyond which the deviant behaviour (in the eyes of the group) becomes harmful to the solidarity of the group, the deviant is expelled from the group. The deviant is labelled and redefined in terms of a particular label.

3. Social stigma arises out of the label. In the process of definition, a person is disqualified and involuntarily redefined in terms of that disqualification. There is an imputation of other adversely viewed qualities which are associated with the label.

In the process of definition, a coalition of forces, a consensus among the significant others and the labelling authorities (medical or legal) is felt by the individual so denounced. He also realises that once the stone starts rolling, he cannot do much about it. He has no means of controlling or coping with the situation and he gets redefined in terms of the label, willy-nilly.

4. A phenomenon of exclusion and isolation occurs, after the individual is ritually separated from the group as an "outsider."

5. The labelled finally realises that he no longer belongs to the conventional world. He tries to settle down by accepting the

new identity, and he redefines himself. This process of redefinition is painful and mortifying, as the labelled gradually comprehends the meaning of the label in its entirety. This change in the perspective solidifies the new identity, and helps crystallize his new role.

6. For a time there is a phenomenon of vacillation: the labelled tries to come back to the conventional world. He is often torn between the two loyalties. In order to identify with any group immediate interpersonal and institutional experience is vitally important for him.

Labelling Theory

Labelling theory can be summed up by taking into consideration the following facts and interpretations of social stigma, as theoretically formulated and empirically investigated.

1. It is established that our social structure has several basic types of stigmas.
2. Social groups use labels to stigmatize a group member in case of deviation from a conventional pattern of behaviour.
3. Expulsion, exclusion, rejection and isolation are the consequences of the designation of the label.
4. The labelled in this case experiences mortification and pain at the realization that he does not belong to the conventional world formerly meaningful to him.
5. A new identity is forced upon the labelled; other attributes may be imputed along with the label. There is vacillation between submissive withdrawal and aggressive assertiveness on the part of the labelled.
6. Ultimately the labelled has no other course available to him, and is therefore reduced to accepting the new identity; even if the new identity is accepted by the labelled, he is often still torn between the loyalties of the two worlds.
7. The labelled can come back to the conventional world only upon

showing his readiness for total loyalty to the conventional patterns of behaviour.

From the establishment of these facts and interpretations, labelling theory may be re-stated as follows:

- I. In an urban society, social groups use labels to denote specific group attitudes. These labels guide social interaction and help maintain social interaction reliable, dependable and orderly patterns - from the standpoint of conventional groups.
- II. Social groups have several basic types of stigmas. Social groups use labels to stigmatize a member in case of deviation from its conventional pattern of behaviour.
- III. Thus, it may be contended that social stigma controls to some extent social behaviour, primarily that of the labelled and secondarily that of the non-labelled, for the fear of social stigma works as a deterrent with the non-labelled.

The formulation of labelling theory brings in the functional aspects of social stigma. Social groups practice labelling whereby the behaviour of group members is regulated and anticipated. Labels that cause social stigma are intended to bring deviants back to conformity. At this time it is worthwhile to ask whether this function would be effectively accomplished if there were no stigma. Or would it make the situation worse and bring chaos to the social organization?

There are some social groups which do not have this practice of social stigma for controlling in some respects the behaviour of their members. For example: Eskimos do not label or stigmatize their group members in case of theft of "food" or "fur," though both these articles are vital to the Eskimo life. They also do not stigmatize illegitimate children born in their group. There is no orphan in that society, as every child belongs to some home.

In writer's opinion this phenomenon in the Eskimo society may be

explained as an aspect of small-size social groups, which induce, sustain and permit deviance. These particular groups build solidarity by giving wide licence to deviate from the performance and behaviour norms.²⁰ There is much variation in time and place, as to how deviance is defined and handled among Eskimos.

Labelling and Social Stigma in Modern Society

In modern society, with technology and scientific advancement and increased mobility, there is a trend from a gemeinschaft to a gesellschaft type of society. With mobility there is anonymity, and people are breaking away from local community ties. Behaviour norms are increasingly dependent upon rule of law, which is, more and more, tending to be universal and secular. "That the trend of modern society is from status to contract" was said by H.S. Maine.²¹ There is increasingly more reliance on achieved qualification rather than on ascribed status. It is suggested that the labelling process which gives rise to social stigma, seems to be the pattern that is likely to continue in modern society, considering the mobility and the anonymity of the modern world. Thus, situations where there is no stigma are less likely to be found.

Social Stigma And Functional Analysis

R.K. Merton comments that the entire range of sociological data can be subjected to functional analysis. The basic requirement is that the object of an analysis represent standardized, patterned and recurrent items. In describing the categories embodied in a paradigm for functional analysis in sociology, Merton²² brings in

the concepts of subjective disposition. This means that functional analysis invariably assumes motivation of individuals involved in a social system. Merton further deals with concepts of objective consequences, i.e. to see the multiple consequences and the net balance of aggregate consequences.

If we impute a function of maintaining social structure to social stigma, as is suggested by the statement that social stigma controls (in part) social behaviour, then it should address to the conceptual framework (mentioned above) of functional analysis.

We have seen that the practice of social stigma is a standardized, patterned and recurrent aspect in most modern societies. Secondly the social stigma arises out of a social label which is designated at the motivation of the individuals involved in a social system. Thirdly, in case of social stigma, the intended function i.e. the manifest function is to control social behaviour. The latent function of social stigma, which are neither intended nor recognized, are mentioned by K.O. Milner, in which he concludes that criminal paranoid subjects have grave internal and external difficulties, may be regarded as logical and almost inevitable reaction to an unbearable and inescapable environment.²³

The dysfunctional aspects of social stigma are seen by H.S. Becker: he contends that social stigma pushes a person to take a deviant course and helps solidify and crystallize a deviant identity.

Social stigma has a limit beyond which it cannot effectively function. It should be noted that a long familiarity with social stigma can render it meaningless to the stigmatized. This may be considered

as a nonfunction of social stigma.

The concept of the unit subserved by the function could be placed where the practice of social stigma promotes stability and dependability to the established interaction pattern of a social structure.

As regards the concept of functional requirement, we have discussed the functional need of social stigma in the urban, mobile, modern society. We think that the labelling process which gives rise to social stigma seems to be a pattern likely to continue in modern society.

With respect to the concept of the mechanism through which functions are fulfilled: "Insulation of institutional demands" can be attributed as the mechanism through which the labelling process and the measure of social stigma arises, and we believe, social stigma performs the designated function for the social structure.

Concepts of functional alternatives: Functional alternatives, equivalents and substitutes to the practice of social stigma are the practices that revolutionize the idea of the group regarding particular deviant behaviour. For example, the legislation, regarding the practice of marihuana smoking, in current times, is undergoing re-examination, and reconsideration of the previously held attitude toward marihuana is almost in sight.

Concept of structural context or structural constraint: We have discussed about social stigma as a device that to some extent promotes stability and dependability in the interpersonal interaction. It is submitted that the range of variation in functional alternatives to social stigma is not unlimited, as the interdependence of the elements

of a social structure limits the effective possibilities of change or functional alternatives.

Concept of dynamics and change: It should be noted that the theoretical formulations of Becker, Goffman, Scheff and Lemert so far discussed are limited to a type of deviance which is harmful to the social pattern--from a conventional middle-class viewpoint--and which disrupts "normal" social structure.

In case of changes in legal, social, ethical and political patterns, the proponents of these changes (deviants in a very broad sense i.e. non-conformers in Merton's language) certainly feel the pressure of the norms of the previous social structure. The evolution of the whole social pattern can be brought about only after standardized beliefs about the new practice are obtained by the majority in that social group, or in the dominant minority, as the case may be.

Merton²⁴ implies that the paradigm contains the minimum set of concepts with which sociologists must operate in order to carry through an adequate functional analysis and, as a corollary, that it can be used here and now as a guide for the critical study of existing analyses. It is suggested that the structural description of the participant in this activity under analysis--social stigma--may provide hypotheses for such a subsequent functional interpretation.

Social stigma and comprehension

It is already pointed out that in the modern, technologically and scientifically orientated, mobile and anonymous society, an individual is known only by his qualification, i.e. by his label

(in the broad sense of the term). We know that the label does convey a definite meaning. People gear themselves to situations and to interpersonal interactions only by knowing the labels. For example a person's reaction to a "Nobel Laureate" and towards a "convict" or an "addict" are different. Most of the times labels are our salient guides to interactions with others, particularly in an urban area. It is pointed out that possession of a label of a "Nobel Laureate" also generates reaction, and locks the holder of the label in a definite situation. Frequently, we find the people in high ranks get tired of those positions, and also the behaviour that is expected of them, and feel frustrated because they cannot get rid of the associative qualities that follow with the position. It is alleged here that the experience is similar to that of the stigmatized person who gets locked into a situation where there is no way out of the label. It is also suggested that in some cases the phenomenon of cumulation of circumstances, such as expulsion, exclusion, rejection and isolation may not have any consciously conspiratorial aspect to it as Lemert claims. It may just be the normal reaction of people as they comprehend the full meaning of the label.

In this chapter we have discussed various aspects of labelling theory and deviance in relation to selected key concepts of modern sociology, especially as used in structural-functional analyses. In the next chapter, we turn to the empirical data collected for this present dissertation.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER IV

- 1 H.S. Becker, The Outsiders: Studies in Sociology of Deviance, New York, Free Press, 1963.
 - 2 E. Goffman "Normal Deviants" article in Mental Illness and Social Processes, edited by T.J. Scheff, Harper and Row, 1967, p. 268.
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 - 5 T.J. Scheff, "Social Conditions for Rationality: How Urban and Rural Courts Deal with Mentally Ill."--Mental Illness and Social Processes, p. 117.
 - 6 M.R. Yarrow and Et.Al., Ibid., p. 78.
 - 7 T.J. Scheff, Op.Cit., p. 117.
 - 8 E.M. Lemert, Ibid., p. 273.
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¹⁷ R.A. Dentler and Kai Erikson, "The Function of Deviance in a Group," Social Problems, Vol. 7, 1957, pp. 98-107.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ K.O. Milner, "The Environment as a Factor in a Etiology of Criminal Paranois." Journal of Mental Science, 1949, 95, pp. 124-132.

²⁰ A. Dentler and Kai Erikson, Op.Cit.

²¹ H.S. Maine in The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory by Don Martindale: Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1960, p. 86.

²² R.K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, The Free Press, N.Y., Collier Macmillan Canada Ltd., 1967, pp. 30-34.

²³ K.O. Milner, Op.Cit.

²⁴ R.K. Merton, Op.Cit., p. 55.

CHAPTER V

Empirical Study Regarding Labelling and Deviance in School

- A. The Problem
- B. Hypothesis
- C. Operational Definitions
- D. Place of Research
- E. Limitations
- F. Design of the Study
- G. Permission of the Prairie City School Board and Schools
- H. Some Word about the Sample
- I. Conversion of Numerical Grades
- J. A Special Word about the School in the Sample
- K. Analysis
- L. Findings
- M. Conclusion
- N. Appendix A: Methodological Note--Some Reflections on Problems and Aspects of Further Research on Labelling
- O. References and Footnotes

A major concern in social science is the chronically recurring disproportion between its theoretical and empirical aspects. In some speciality areas one can find a wide range of theoretical work, virtually ungrounded by empirical data in support of its claims, whereas many

other areas are barren of theoretical and conceptual relevance, although having an abundance of uninterpreted data.¹ This is not to suggest that either theoretical or empirical work per se is illegitimate. But at some point a dialogue must be established between the two realms if further growth in the speciality area is to occur. This will keep theory in a reasonable degree of relation to some kind of identifiable empirical reality, and keep empirical work constantly improved by the kind of knowledge required by the special view-points of the selected disciplines. The area of deviance as H.S. Becker and others have claimed, tends towards an abundance of theoretical claims and poverty of theoretically relevant empirical support. As in other speciality areas, the progressive development of a sociological understanding of deviance requires close conceptual and empirical acquaintance with the people studied, and with the action to which their interpretations of reality lead. It is towards the further development of this acquaintance that this study is undertaken.

Various sociological theories of deviant behaviour have been discussed in Chapter II, which highlights different aspects of the problem. Howard S. Becker's work in this area focuses on the labelling process and on sequential steps in the development of deviant careers. Becker's view, a variant of symbolic interaction theory, characterises deviance as a consequence of the responses of others to behaviour that departs from the conventional norms, of the dominant conventional patterns, rather than a quality inherent in the deviant himself. An exploratory examination, one of H.S. Becker's assumptions that regarding the label "deviant" and its subsequent adaptation, is made in this

study. The area under investigation is the school system.

A. The Problem

In The Outsiders, Becker contends that when an individual is apprehended and officially given the label "delinquent," a drastic change occurs in his public identity. He assumes that typical patterns of relationship among conventional others are affected, and that these latter people impute to the person other undesirable traits for which he is not responsible. Friends, teachers and neighbours for example, are held to behave differently towards the person as a result of the label. Thus, by a cumulation of circumstances the labelled person is supposed to be forced increasingly towards deviant associates, as conventional groups and individuals reject him. As he is increasingly forced out of the conventional world, the movement along a deviant course gets underway, a course which involved a series of steps, each of which is held to increase the likelihood of crystallisation of a deviant identity and a criminal career.

The following steps² as stated in Chapter III are cited by H.S. Becker as those leading to the development of a deviant career. They are repeated here because an understanding of them is essential to grasping the limitations of our empirical data in relation to the labelling theory as a whole.

The first step is the commission of a non-conforming act which is

intentional and which is a violation of law. Such acts are presumed by Becker to be learned through participation in deviant subcultures, which are to some extent organised around this kind of activity.

The second step in the process is apprehension for the deviant act and being publicly labelled "deviant." This step has important consequences for one's relationship to conventional individuals and groups and thus for one's self-image and public identity. This new status, that of the deviant, leads to the attribution and assumption by the non-labelled of additional undesirable characteristics and activities. Friends, neighbours, teachers, parents and the remaining conventional others change their attitude and behaviour towards the labelled person. It is as a consequence of this change that the third step emerges.

The third step is the breaking of other conventional rules which the labelled originally had no intention of breaking. This is presumed to result from the nature of experience during the second stage and from the barriers to conformity to convention.

The fourth step, finally, is the movement into, the identification with, an organised deviant group. This gives the individual a sense of common fate with others, and it is presumed to be the point at which crystallisation of deviant identity occurs.

The process which Becker describes may be seen as crosscutting the entire range of institutions in which the individual has involvements. The family, the work situations, the school, the church, among others, are areas in which this interaction process and its cumulative effect should be reflected. In this study an exploratory attempt is made to

determine whether or not it is detectable within a school setting. Our assumption is that if such a process is operative, it will be reflected in the differential evaluations made of the labelled and the nonlabelled by the school teachers and peers in the school setting.

B. Hypothesis

The general concern or focus to which the present study is addressed may be stated as follows:

"A public label of a 'deviant' act leads to social stigmatisation of the labelled person."

This concern will be examined by testing the hypothesis that there is a positive association between a deviant label and teacher and peer evaluations in the school.

C. Operational Definitions

a) For the purposes of this study, a labelled deviant act is the act for which the individual, in this case study, a student, is caught and is officially labelled by the police or law officer of criminal justice.

b) The social stigma is the attitude which significant others then develop towards the labelled. It is exhibited in rejection, isolation, exclusion and expulsion. In this study, it is indicated by the negative evaluations of the labelled by teachers and peers.

Our assumption is that students with official labels would tend not to perform acts which are in keeping with the conventional ways: for the conventional avenues of adaptation are decreasingly available to the labelled. This means that, if Becker's presumptions are true, we should find for example that the labelled students would tend not to satisfy the teachers, academically or otherwise, more often than not.

The room teachers evaluate pupils four times a year in the regular course of school work. If Becker's contentions are true, then it may be expected that the tendencies of the labelled towards a deviant course could be traced in these evaluations. Thus, social stigma--that is, the attitude developed by the significant others---may be measured in part by the teacher's evaluations of the labelled and the nonlabelled within the school situation.

It is also assumed that irrespective of the teacher's bias that might develop because of the teacher's knowledge of the labelled, the teacher is increasingly likely to see deterioration in the behaviour of the labelled. Specifically, if the latter does not attend school regularly, he would not secure reasonably good or even average academic standing; and he would not satisfy the room teacher on such counts as "citizenship" and "work habits."³

D. Place of Research

This study is restricted to the school situation. The latter was selected for a number of reasons.

In Canada, all children 6 years and older, irrespective of class, race, religion, sex or residence are enrolled, and must attend school up to a certain age--usually age 14 to 16, depending on the province. Secondly, the school records are important and vital documents in all children's lives; they have far-reaching consequences for moulding any individual's life, since they affect future educational opportunities, employment possibilities, and so on. Keeping school records is a routine duty of the teachers. We feel that these records are among the best available, and that they are relevant empirical indicators for assessing some of the effects that could arise from the label.

In Prairie City, Probation agencies and the Courts avoid publicity about the criminal behaviour of juvenile offenders. For example a report regarding a juvenile in the newspaper does not usually carry the name of the offender. It may be worded as "A youth was involved in ..." or "A youth has been held responsible for" Thus, the juvenile is protected from the hostile reactions of the general public.

Teachers in the schools under investigation in this study were asked about their knowledge of every student officially involved in trouble--usually this meant apprehension by the police. It is not always certain that all teachers know which students are on probation

or have been held as juvenile delinquents. Ordinarily, as experienced guidance counsellors and teachers in a Prairie City reported to the present writer, teachers learn about such things when the Probation Agency telephones them that a particular student will not be in class during such and such a period, because he is detained in custody, or has a date for hearing in the court, etc. Naturally this news quickly circulates among the teachers, as there is usually an exchange of notes among them about such incidents. Thus, if a police officer visits the school, so we were told, most of the teachers know why he is there and who is concerned in that situation. Also, once a week the teachers meet the counsellor of that school, and many times information about students in official difficulties is supplied by the counsellor to the teachers.

It is suggested that, even if the teacher has no direct knowledge of the "label" of a particular student, the teacher is bound to seek out reasons for the deterioration of a student's performance in school, if such deterioration becomes evident. The teacher soon learns that in some cases the student's poor performance may be due to the pressure of cumulative coercive circumstances, closing around the labelled. Perhaps, in addition, other institutional areas besides the school may also be involved, such as the student's home and his neighbourhood. A child in great distress is usually unable to perform normally. Thus, even if the teacher has a positive and friendly attitude towards the labelled student, the teacher may conclude that the student's work and behavior is going from bad to worse. Similar considerations might show up in other more or less official community evaluations made about the

labelled.

In this exploratory study, Social stigma is measured by the image of the delinquent held by the room teacher within the school setting. Social stigma may be viewed as a consequence of the label. It is indicated in rejection, expulsion, exclusion and isolation.

This image is constructed from report cards which the room teacher fills in for each student four times a year. The information we collected from the report cards consists of the following variables:

1. Days Absent (Attendance)
2. Academic Average
3. Citizenship; this is condensed from the evaluations of dependability, courtesy, judgment, emotional control, creativity, and respect for authority
4. Work Habits

We therefore propose to interpret the evaluations of these variables as a reflection of certain forces within as well as outside the school setting which may push the labelled student towards further deviances, and which may in a few cases help to crystallise a deviant identity.

E. Limitations

In order to highlight the possible consequences of the "deviant" label, it is essential to observe the situation of the labelled just before and just after the fact of labelling. However, it was not

possible to obtain access to the "cum-cards" of the school children. These give a cumulative report about the child's progress in school from grade one. The "cum-card " is a private document and is confidential between parents and teachers. This body of data is not available for this study. All the same, we have two groups, one with a label and one without, and it is intended to explore the same correlations or associations of this label in grade 7, 8, and 9 located in six different schools. Correlation, of course, does not necessarily imply causation.

F. Design of the Study

A group of forty-six students with official histories (i.e., adjudicated by official police or court proceedings) of probation was obtained from the Probation Officer of a Prairie City. This data was compared with the same number of students who have no such official record. The nonlabelled group was randomly selected from the general list of the students in each room, including the students in the labelled group, by picking every eleventh student card from the pile.

G. Permission of the Prairie City School Board and Schools

The permission of the Public School Board was requested in order

to collect the above mentioned data from the report cards. As ours was an exploratory study, the Public School Board allowed us to collect data from two public schools. The data of these two schools was collected by a school teacher authorised by the Public School Board and then sent to us.

The Separate School Board Authorities allowed us to collect data from four schools. Each individual Separate School was visited and the project was explained in detail to the school authority, and their permission was sought to duplicate the report cards of both the labelled group and the nonlabelled group (total 33) for the year 1967-1968.

H. Some Words about the Sample

In this way the data were collected in 1967 and 1968 about the cases in six different schools. Four of them were Separate Schools and the remaining two were Public Schools. The four Separate Schools were selected because these schools had a greater number of probationers compared to the others.

It is also to be noted that the population in the Public Schools is predominantly Protestant/English, whereas the population in the Separate Schools is usually Catholic and mostly from French backgrounds. The list of school children in grades 7, 8, and 9 who have been officially labelled, i.e., who were involved in trouble with the law

before the 1st of September, 1967, was obtained from the Probation Officer of the Prairie City. The labelled group consists of boys and girls, predominantly boys. They were labelled as delinquents before the beginning of the academic year, i.e., before September, 1967. The number of boys in the labelled group is forty-two, and the number of girls is four.

We propose to compare the labelled group which has an official history of probation with other randomly selected nonlabelled groups, who are in the same grade, same room, roughly of the same age, and have the same teachers. Both groups come from the same neighbourhoods. The nonlabelled group differs from the labelled group in the respect that the students in the nonlabelled group have no official probationary record.

Ecologists, anthropologists and social scientists are interested in generalising about communities, societies or other spatially defined units. They usually are concerned about the lack of independence in much of their work. All statistical tests make use of the assumption that there is independence between events, that is, with the assumption of independence in a random sample, every individual in the population has an equal chance of appearing in the sample. Experience shows that, in trying to obtain a random sample, there are often insurmountable difficulties. There are several practical reasons why it is frequently necessary to attempt to generalise on the basis of limited information.

In the case of this study, though the Prairie City Probation Officer provided us with the complete list of the students in grades

7, 8, and 9 having official histories of probation, in all the Public and Separate schools in the Prairie City, the Public School Board granted us permission to collect our data from only two Public schools. However, we could not go in these schools. Instead, the data was collected by an authorised school teacher, and was sent to us.

Secondly, in some cases, the school records regarding a particular individual in the labelled group were not available. In some cases the records were incomplete, as the probationer might have changed his school, or be absent so much that the teacher is not able to make any evaluations of him. In such cases, both the labelled student and the matched nonlabelled student had to be eliminated from our samples. It is submitted that the make-up of the labelled group falls short of the characteristics of a random sample, due to the above mentioned circumstances. Nevertheless, this is an exploratory study. The main goal is to obtain insight which may ultimately be valuable, and may lead to testable hypotheses. In a stricter sense, statistical inference is not legitimate, as we have no valid estimate of risks of error. "In certain situations, like this study, the nonprobability sampling may be used, and is permitted as useful insights may be obtained by such a comparison."⁴

From the information provided by the Prairie City Probation Officer, it is to be noted that in Prairie City on an average, at any time of the year, there are two hundred juveniles on probation according to police records. This is an extremely low rate of delinquency for an urban center of this size. Though the sample size of the labelled group in this study is forty-six, it is submitted

that this is adequate for gaining preliminary insights.

I. Conversion to Numerical Grades

The data are extracted from the report cards of forty-six students in the labelled group, and from another forty-six randomly selected nonlabelled students for the following characteristics:

- a) Days Absent
- b) Academic Average
- c) Citizenship
- d) Work Habits

These are the standard categories of appraisal used on the report cards. The conversion of the letter grades into numerical grades was done in the following way:

Academic Average:

<u>Letter Grade</u>	<u>Numerical Grade</u>	<u>Our Scale</u>
H - Excellent	(100 to 90)	50
A - Very Good	(89 to 75)	40
B - Good	(74 to 60)	30
C - Fair but below average	(59 to 50)	20
D - Failure	(50 and below)	10

Our scale was developed as a simple and convenient means of converting an otherwise cumbersome set of measures to more manageable terms. It is, of course, an arbitrary simplification.

Citizenship and Work Habits:

<u>Letter Grade</u>	<u>Our Scale</u>
V.G. - Very Good	40
G. - Good	30
F. - Fair	20
P. - Poor	10

J. A Special Word about the Schools in the Sample

The sample of the boys in the labelled and the nonlabelled group includes students in grades 7, 8 and 9. The two Public Schools were "Brown" and "Lowlands." The four Separate Schools were "B", "C", "D", and "E". The samples for both the labelled and the nonlabelled groups come from these above six schools, the designations for which are here disguised.

Some of the classes in grade 7, 8 and 9 are called Opportunity, Transition, Vocational, Pre-employment, Modified, etc. These are various modifications made in the regular curriculum of grades 7, 8 and 9 to suit the requirements of the students in that room. For example, those students who are exceptionally slow academically in one subject are put in a transition class, where they get special attention in their weaker subjects. In Opportunity classes, one more chance is given to the students before assigning them to another programme. Modified and Pre-employment classes are prior to vocational class, where a vocation is taught for the student's future career. A pre-employment class is slightly better academically than the modified

class. The data collected from the "Brown" school comes from students who are particularly slow academically.

The data that is collected from "E" Separate School concerns only three boys in each group. This is a very small number. Hence it was concluded that any inference based on the sample of one school would not be adequate for gaining reliable and valid insights relevant to that specific school. Thus, data is therefore combined for all the schools.

The sample from "C" Separate School included two boys who were in grade 5 and 6 respectively. They were included because they were the same age as other boys in the sample.

K. Analysis

A test for the difference between the Means⁵ was employed. A null hypothesis of no difference between the labelled and the non-labelled group was set up at .05 level of significance for each of the variables: days absent, academic average, citizenship, and work habits. The difference between the groups were found to be significant, at .05 level, with respect to all four variables. These results are given in Table I.

L. Findings

Table I, below indicates statistically significant differences between labelled and the nonlabelled groups for each of the four indices of teacher appraisal.

Table I. Selected Comparisons of Teacher Evaluations
of Labelled and Non-Labelled 7, 8, and 9th Graders

	Academic ^a Rating Range: 10(low) 50(high)	Days Absent	Citizenship ^b Rating Range: 10(low) 50 (high)	Work Habits Rating Range:10(low) 50 (high)
Stigmatised Group Average	19.81 (N-43)	29.15 (N-46)	22.12 (N-43)	16.86 (N-43)
Non-stigmatised Group Average	28.96 (N-43)	6.05 (N-46)	31.19 (N-43)	27.67 (N-46)

^aAcademic average: The subjects involved in this category are reading, literature, language, spelling, social studies, mathematics, science and writing. Letter grades were converted to numerical scores as follows: H-50, A-40, B-30, C-20, D-10. In a few instances numerical grades were given rather than letter grades. Their conversion was as follows: 100-90 - 50; 89-75 - 40; 74-60 - 30; 59-50 - 20; below 50 - 10.

^bCitizenship and Work Habits: The Citizenship rating is a composite of grades in the following six areas: 1. "Dependability," 2. "Courtesy," 3. "Judgment," 4. "Emotional Control," 5. "Creativity," 6. "Respect for authority," letter grades were converted in this way: V.G. - 40; G. - 30; F. - 20; P. - 10.

In instances where comparable data were not available on stigmatised and non-stigmatised equivalents, both subjects were eliminated from the sample.

One pair of subjects was rated on the basis of descriptive accounts of performance by the room teacher.

Academic, Citizenship, and Work Habits ratings are based on third quarter 1967-68 school year grades only. Days absent however, are cumulative days absent from the 1st to 3rd quarter.

Although tests of statistical significance have limited values for this particular set of data, our initial indications are that each of the differences indicated in this table is significant, at or beyond the .05 level of significance.

Peer Selection:

Where there was a cluster of 2 or 3 boys from the labelled group in a room, questionnaires on sociometric choices were given to the whole room. These forms were administered by the room teacher. The students were asked to name the three students in their room with whom they would most like to be. They were also asked to name the three from their room with whom they would least like to be. An average is calculated for the positive and the negative responses for the labelled and the nonlabelled groups, and also for the total number. This is given in Table II below.

Table II. Peer Evaluation by Sociometric Choice^a

	Labelled Group N-17	Non-Labelled Group N-115	Total Group N-132
Average Number Positive Choices Received	$\frac{23}{17} - 1.35$	$\frac{257}{115} - 2.23$	$\frac{280}{132} - 2.12$
Average Number Negative Choices Received	$\frac{77}{17} - 4.53$	$\frac{222}{115} - 1.93$	$\frac{299}{132} - 2.27$

^aThe Sociometric choices were made by six different classes in four different schools. They were administered by the respective room teachers. The positive responses were to the following question: "Please list below, your first, second and third choice of the classmate who is most like the person you would like to be."

The above table confirms that we were theoretically led to expect, namely, that peer appraisals of the stigmatised are more negative than the appraisals of those without stigma.

Table II represents findings regarding peer evaluations. As in Table I, here, too, our theoretically derived expectations are confirmed, in that the labelled or the stigmatised group is over-represented among the negative choices made, and under-represented among the positive choices.

Table III represents findings concerning the direction of teacher-evaluated performance. Here we used, for comparison, the first-quarter and third-quarter ratings shown on the student's report cards. In each of the three instances of comparison (Academic Average, Citizenship and Work Habits), the percentage of persons showing negative change from the first to the third-quarter is greater among the labelled than the nonlabelled. Also in each instance of comparison, the percentage of persons showing positive change among the labelled is less than among the nonlabelled. Notably, the difference in percentage of persons showing negative change in Academic average and Citizenship ratings is marked.

It is to be noted that there is, then, limited evidence to support the theoretically based claim of "deterioration" among the labelled at least in greater measure than is found among the nonlabelled.

Table III. Change in School Performance from 1st to 3rd Quarter^a
(Number and Percent of Persons)

Academic Average		Citizenship		Work Habits		
Labelled Group N-29	Non-Labelled Group N-29	Labelled Group N-28	Non-Labelled Group N-28	Labelled Group N-28	Non-labelled Group N-28	
<u>Positive</u> Change	8 (27.6%)	19 (65.6%)	7 (25.%)	9 (32.1%)	1 (3.6%)	6 (21.4%)
<u>Negative</u> Change	17 (58.6%)	7 (24.1%)	17 (60.7%)	6 (21.4%)	10 (35.7%)	6 (21.4%)
<u>No</u> Change	4 (13.8%)	3 (10.3%)	4 (14.3%)	13 (46.5%)	17 (60.7%)	16 (57.2%)
Total	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)

^aThese figures represent changes in group performance in the above areas over time (first to third quarter). They show a tendency for fewer of the labelled to improve over time than the non-labelled. This tentative finding is consistent without theoretical assumption.

M. Conclusions

This study is essentially an exploratory effort designed to gather evidence having relevance to H.S. Becker's theoretical claims. The data uphold some of the theoretical claims made, but do not confirm these claims definitively. From the nature of the findings, within the limitations of the groups studied, it can be seen that the labelled group is less favourably evaluated in the school setting than is the nonlabelled group. This is true in terms of peer evaluations as well as of teacher evaluations. These findings are consistent with the theoretical presupposition that as one changes from the nonlabelled to the labelled group and status, the likelihood of negative evaluations by teachers and peers increases. In other words, there appears to be a positive relation between a delinquency label and negative evaluation by teachers and peers.

While this is a necessary and beginning step toward confirming the labelling theory, it is not itself sufficient. The process which H.S. Becker claims to be operative upon the designation of the label must be studied in other institutional areas, where the labelled are involved. This means that the process has to be studied over time, in the family situation, the work situation, the neighbourhood situation, etc., each time using different but relevant indicators. Confirmation covering the entire range of areas of social participation of the stigmatised would be required for a definitive proof of the labelling theory.

It should be pointed out at this stage that we do not know whether

or not the difference found between the two groups also existed prior to the point of labelling. If such differences did exist before a public label was given, they cannot be attributed to the change in status from nonlabelled to labelled. Resolution of this important issue requires comparison between the two groups along the same lines, prior to the point in time that the official label was acquired. Also, we know that several persons not on probation (nonstigmatised by our usage) were negatively evaluated in the school setting. This means that perhaps more of the variance between the two groups might be explained by a more satisfactory definition of the stigmatised.⁶ This might be done by further and closer study of deviant cases, that is, those who are negatively evaluated in the school setting but who did not have a public label. Finally, of course, other factors than stigmatisation may be needed to explain the data.

An additional area of relevant information completely unexplored in this study is the more long-range investigation of the after-effects of labelling. We know that at a given point in time there exist important differences between labelled and the nonlabelled in terms of certain teacher and peer assessments. We do not know, however, whether or not these differences maintain themselves over time. One way to determine this would be to find out the rate of graduation from high school between the two groups. Theoretically we would expect a much higher rate of school failure among the labelled. That is to say, the process set in motion by the imposition of the stigma may act coercively on the labelled to make conventional adaptations more difficult. Thus, a larger proportion of the labelled than the nonlabelled would be

expected not to graduate and to embark on criminal careers in adult life, or to accept some other pattern of deviance.

A final limitation on relevant information in this study stems from the recognition that it is a study of labelling and social processes rather than of probation or schools per se. The findings in this study, while lending support to the relevance of the labelling theory, should not be taken as confirming the theory itself. Such confirmation must await the findings as to other key differences between the labelled and the nonlabelled, and the factors explaining those differences.

For example, we need to know much more about the process of labelling, as we have indicated above. Labels may be differentially perceived by various persons and groups. Responses to a label may likewise vary. Labels may change over time. These are some of the unstudied or insufficiently studied phases of the labelling process and its consequences.

N. Appendix A

Methodological Note--Some Reflections on Problems
and Aspects of Further Research on Labelling.

In the following discussion, some of the points regarding labelling theory are discussed. In the writer's opinion, these are some of the aspects of labelling which must be considered and resolved prior to

any investigation of the labelling theory.

It can be realised that the labelling theory--i.e., the labelling process and the subsequent crystallisation of a deviant identity as contended by H.S. Becker--is an enormous area for any single empirical analysis. The first step before any kind of investigation, is to expand, meaningfully, the "steps" of the labelling process into several parts or categories, which may be further explored and investigated under several hypotheses. This procedure would enable us to get a clear picture of how the structural aspects may bring about the changes in the perspective, motivation, action and finally in the self-concept of a labelled person.

"The first step" under the labelling process, is to commit a deviant act.

The phenomenon of deviance as previously discussed in Chapters I and II, generally deals with what is considered improper and undesirable, and the way in which society copes with it. If the deviant act is also an illegal act, in that event, the criminal law becomes applicable. The deviant act may be against some societal norm, which brings such social reactions as: social disapprobation, censure, wrath, ostracism, etc.

Another approach is to classify and analyse deviant acts as follows: adjudicated delinquency, unadjudicated but self-reported delinquency, deviant acts not perceived as deviant. It is to be noted that the definitions of deviance and crime (considered in the introduction of this thesis), are pertinent and basic for any kind of empirical analysis. But because these concepts are illusive and very hard to define, empirical analysis becomes all the more difficult.

"The second step" is to apprehend the application of the label.

This means, primarily, to explore how a person acquires the role of a deviant--the process of role entrance. As commented previously, criminal law is one among several regulators of societal values. Criminal law successfully bestows the necessary attributes upon a criminal. "It may also be realised that the role-entrance, recovery, and role-leaving are not so well-defined in the case of a criminal as it is in the case of a sick person."⁷ It is not clear when or if the criminal role can be left, once entered. Acquisition of a label occurs in a variety of ways. This discussion again points towards the much discussed polemical argument: "Who is a deviant?" and "Who is a criminal?".

The Consequences of the Application of the Label

It may be summed up in a sentence that it is the reaction of the significant others and of the society in general. This is commonly known as social stigma.

One may frame several hypotheses at this stage to explore different facets of this reaction. These areas for further research include the following:

i) That the reaction to stigma is rejection, expulsion, exclusion and isolation. Several sociologists have framed hypotheses, in a variety of ways to investigate these four aspects, as discussed in chapter four.

ii) A reaction to stigma may be present, but it must be proved that this reaction is a barrier to conformity and that such a barrier is created in all the areas of conventional realm that is, in the

family situation, the work situation, friendship circles, church situation, club or recreation situation, and so on.

iii) That all this pressure is felt and perceived as cumulative and coercive by the labelled.

iv) That due to this pressure and to no other pressure, he is pushed away from conventional groups and formerly significant others.

v) That this pressure in fact is developed on all sides to force the labelled to take a deviant course and no other course.

vi) That deviant behaviour has no other sources or patterns than the foregoing.

"The third phase" emerges as the consequence of the change in attitude of the significant others and of society in general towards the labelled. This is the pressure on the labelled to break more conventional rules, which the labelled originally had no intention of breaking.

i) This would be tested by finding out the perception of a persistent delinquent or the perception of a confirmed criminal and/or a deviant. It is to be proved that this barrier to conformity, only, and no other factors, was responsible for the subsequent recurring deviant acts.

"The fourth phase" for research is the final movement into and identification with an organised deviant group. It is presumed that this is a point at which the crystallisation of a deviant identity occurs.

The ideas under this step may be tested by finding out whether the labelled feels much at home with somebody like himself, i.e., with

other deviants of similar nature. Does pressure, in all the conventional realm, converges on the labelled to motivate him to belong to deviant groups and reject the rejectors? Does it also motivate the labelled to actively identify himself as a member of an organised deviant group?

The above discussion gives a fair idea about the vastness of the area of the labelling theory and if such an investigation is desired, the evidence should converge from all sides to prove the theory in a definitive and conclusive manner. It can be seen that the work involved in such a project is far beyond the limits of this thesis.

"The deviance induced by natural conditions and man-made barriers emphasises time as a dimension, as clearly as a good view landscape emphasises the spatial aspect of life. It also draws attention to the normative ordering of temporal sequences and simultaneities as well as to the resource aspect of time."⁸ Thus, in the case of "the social stigma and the subsequent development of a deviant identity," a longitudinal design would be ideal. "A solution to the problem of causal order, at least in principle, is the longitudinal or panel study," suggest Hirshi and Selvin, "In an ideal version of this design, the investigator would select a sample of infants and continually collect data on them until they become adults."⁹

In longitudinal design, we are inclined to accept the hypothesis when we take the first reading; but when we take the second reading--i.e., at the end of a span of 5 years or so, in the case of school study, at the time of graduation from the high school--we may reject it. In

this respect longitudinal design is more sensitive than the cross-sectional design. Longitudinal design is of two kinds; prospective and retrospective. In the prospective longitudinal design we trace that Y follows X. In this case X is labelling and Y is the consequence which developed through the course of time. In the retrospective longitudinal design we trace that X precedes Y. X is the labelling and Y is the social stigma, a social consequence. When Y exists we trace whether X also exists before Y. Also if we are able to see Y is a consequence of X, and that Y may also be produced by other factors than X, the prospective design then, is adequate for the acceptance of the hypothesis about a sufficient but not a necessary cause.¹⁰

The practical difficulties in the longitudinal design are also worth considering at this stage of our discussion. "The practical difficulties of panel studies and longitudinal design are undoubtedly the major reasons for the infrequent use in delinquent research. Nevertheless, the less-than-ideal panel study may fail to solve the problem of causal order. The research using this technique may neglect to gather appropriate data; he may fail to analyse the data properly; he may conceptualise his variables in such a way that solutions to the problem are virtually impossible. The longer the term of panel study, the more the procedures, findings, and theories are those of an earlier period. To attempt to bring the research up to date in any of these areas is to risk losing the distinctive virtues of the panel study. They are also expensive."¹¹ These are some of the attacks on the nature of longitudinal and panel study by Hirshi and Selvin. They feel that despite the attacks on cross-sectional design

studies, the cross-sectional studies will continue to be a major tool of research in delinquency. The most obvious reason is that, compared to panel study, they are fast and inexpensive.¹²

We have mentioned earlier that in order to highlight the consequences of the deviant label, it is essential to observe the situation of the labelled before and after the fact of labelling, and that the adequate and reliable information about the children's report can be sought from the cum-cards. This body of data was not available for this study. Thus, we had to take recourse to the cross-sectional study as the School Board permitted access to the report cards only at one time. Within the limitations of this data, we have tried to trace the negative changes from the first quarter to the third quarter, and we found support for the theoretically based claim that deterioration seems to continue among the stigmatised. It must be stressed at this point that the time dimension is significant in any research regarding the labelling theory, and that the longitudinal design would be best suited, wherever possible. The longitudinal design would enable us to know whether the difference between the labelled and the nonlabelled existed after the point of labelling.

Further, it is to be noted that the evidence of the barriers to conformity in the conventional realm is one of the main points of interest under the labelling theory. In this thesis, an attempt was made to explore the area of the school as an institution. The report cards of the two groups were compared for the teacher's reaction and the peer evaluations were gathered from the sociometric choices. Those who have known the various school institutions for some time may have

a better feel for the way these organisations are run. A deeper analysis of our data by those who have closer insight and experience may reveal some new aspects and dimensions previously not thought relevant.

Finally, the labelling theory emphasises the exclusionist pressures. The latter are man-made barriers. Labelling theory claims that these are the changes in the social-structural aspects and that they bring about the changes in the perspective, motivation, action and finally the self-concept of the person concerned.

At all stages of labelling process, the perceptions of the labelled person become extremely important and significant. There may be barriers created in the conventional realm as a reaction to the label, but the pressures of these barriers must be felt by the person concerned. It may be that these barriers evoke some other responses which the labelling theory has not considered. Aubert¹³ considers isolation as a sociological phenomenon, accepted and fostered by social organisation and social action. Aubert says, "the recent attention to 'sensory deprivation' has but the problem of social isolation on the agenda of research. While sensory deprivation is a relatively specific phenomenon and has a cluster of ascertainable effects upon psychological functions, social isolation is no more than obverse side of the basic social phenomenon--human interaction. Isolation implies barriers to interaction, I have often gone out of the way to emphasise the significance of communication barriers. ... The existence of lonely niches in a society may, however, be utilised, consciously or unconsciously, to satisfy the needs which are related to the

idiosyncrasies of individual personalities." In this way Aubert suggests that some individuals crave more isolation, loneliness and privacy than others. Some individuals may be less capable of tolerating extended loneliness; on the other hand, socially conditioned isolation affords scientific and artistic creativity. The life of a sailor and the occupational culture of the sea are in many ways deviant and isolated.

This discussion is intended to stress the importance of the psychological make-up of the labelled and his perception of exclusionist pressure or barriers to conventional behaviour patterns. Hence, participant observation of the labelled after the fact of labelling may be meaningful to assess this kind of pressure.

These are some of the points which the investigator should attend to, if an investigation of a labelling theory (process of crystallisation of deviant identity) is envisaged.

However, at all times the investigators must recognise and make clear that "conformity" and "deviance" are culturally and historically related and reciprocal concepts dependent upon arbitrary yardsticks for their respective and reciprocal definitions. A major methodological obstacle to the study of "deviance"-- a concept that labelling theory must accept as a basic premise--is establishing a satisfactory definition of a "normal" order in a society that is inherently and rapidly changing.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER V

¹ Theories of deviance which have only theoretical import: Merton's theory or Sutherland's differential association theory, Organisational deviance, Process of rule-enforcement, Process of rule-making and deviance.

² H.S. Becker, The Outsiders; Studies in Sociology of Deviance, The Free Press, New York, 1963, pp. 39-45.

³ These categories are explained on Page 104 of this chapter.

⁴ Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics, The McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960, pp. 108-203, 207.

⁵ G.H. Weinberg and J.A. Schumaker, Statistics, An Intuitive Approach, Wadsworth Publishing Co. Inc., Belmont, California, 3rd printing, 1964, pp. 203-207.

⁶ It may well be that the public label is itself but a reflection of the social process stemming other contexts of experience which on closer study will yield a more comprehensive categorisation of the labelled.

⁷ Vilhem Aubert, The Hidden Society, The Bedminister Press, Inc., Totowa, New Jersey, 1965, p. 10.

And also-

"The problem is related to Festinger's distinction between 'physical reality' and 'social reality,' "Leon Festinger, Et.al. Theory and Experiment in Social Communication. Ann Arbor: Edward Brother, 1950, Leon Festinger, "A theory of social comparison process." Human Relations, 7 (1954), 117-40.

⁸ Vilhelm Aubert, Ibid., p. 29.

⁹ Travis Hirschi and Hanan C. Selvin, Delinquency Research, An Appraisal of Analytic Methods, The Free Press, New York, 1967, pp. 53-54.

¹⁰ H.L. Zetterberg, The Theory and Varification in Sociology, The Bedminister Press, 1965, pp. 135, 136, 137 and 139.

¹¹ T. Hirschi and H.C. Selvin, Ibid., p. 54.

¹² Ibid., p. 54.

¹³ V. Aubert, Ibid., p. 13.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusions and Interpretations

Various theories, of different orientations, have been so far discussed, which deal with many known facets of deviance. Explanations of crime and deviance have often been axiomatic and parochial. In this perspective, many valuable criticisms and possible analytical avenues for future research, suggested by different scientific approaches, are lost from sight. It is also true that, as specialisation increases, scholars reach the point where they begin to ask significant questions that cannot be answered satisfactorily within their own particular, initial framework of reference.

Recently, the ideas of "cross-cultural" or "interdisciplinary" research, and how to achieve closer cooperation between theory and practice, have had special attention. The idea of "integration" emphasises full understanding of a social phenomenon, its etiology, its ramifications, its consequences. It takes into account not only the main facts of social structures as dealt with by sociology, but also the main facts about personalities that function in those social structures, as dealt with by the discipline of psychology. These efforts are mainly directed at arriving at "Verstehen," in the Weberian sense, by

seeking meaning behind the concatenation of many sets of attributes and variables. Roy Grinker:

"It is the coordination of two basic sets of data in a large explanatory scheme--not a reduction of either mode of analysis to the allegedly more fundamental one of the other."¹

M.E. Wolfgang and F. Ferracuti spell out integration in this way:

"Integration in this context means bringing together empirical data, relative to the same phenomenon, that have been collected by independent disciplines and interpreted within their limited parameters of orientation, so that analytical synthesis becomes minimally the combination of the parts and maximally a new perspective."²

There is a movement, in the field of deviance, toward integration, but it is slow, because slight differences of emphasis of orientation make joint writing difficult, even within one discipline. The problems are compounded when scholars of different disciplines try to work together. From the general discussion about the different theoretical formulations, it can be seen that they may be sufficiently exhaustive to explain all the facets of the phenomenon of deviance, each facet considered by itself. But this approach does not take into account the implications of a dynamic, holistic and historical view of societal-deviance problems.

The area of deviance also shows an abundance of theoretical claims and a poverty of theoretically relevant empirical support. We believe that the progressive development of sociological understanding of deviance requires close conceptual and empirical acquaintance with the social reality of the people studied--their actions and their interpre-

tations of the social reality. It also demands a sense of history or change, and of relativism.

Our own study attempts to determine whether or not this process of labelling is detectable within the school setting. We hypothesised that the labelling process is manifested in the differential evaluations made by the teacher and by the peers of the labelled and the nonlabelled during the school routine.

It can be seen from the conclusions of the study that the findings of this preliminary exploration lend support to some of the theoretical claims made by H.S. Becker, within the limitations of our sample. In brief, as one changes from a nonlabelled to a labelled group and status, the likelihood of negative evaluation by teachers and peers increases in the school environment.

In order to establish these findings in a conclusive manner, a further and more refined investigation of the same situation is needed, using a time dimension. Did the differences between the two groups exist before an official label was acquired by one group? In case the differences existed prior to the designation of the label, then the difference is not due to social stigma arising out of the designation of label, but to some other variables.

In labelling theory, there is no direct way of checking the most important propositions of the theory. Instead, we try to derive a number of consequences which should occur, if the original theory were true. It is the validity of these consequences which can be partially determined by empirical methods. Thus, the evidence for the original theory is indirect. In brief, we should think in terms of tentative

interpretations, not of proofs or disproofs.

The label or stigma creates attitudes of exclusion, expulsion, rejection, and isolation. However, final conclusions seem impossible. We know that, in sociology, intervening variables cannot be eliminated, and it is furthermore virtually impossible to isolate one variable and to sort out its effects on the other. Moreover, variables are often interwoven in complex chains and networks on interdependent factors. This further complicates analysis.

Additional relevant information, significant for the establishment of theoretical claims, includes the study of long-range after effects of labelling. Theoretically, we are led to expect a much higher rate of school failures among the labelled than among the nonlabelled. One way to determine this is to compare the rate of high-school graduation in the labelled and the nonlabelled.

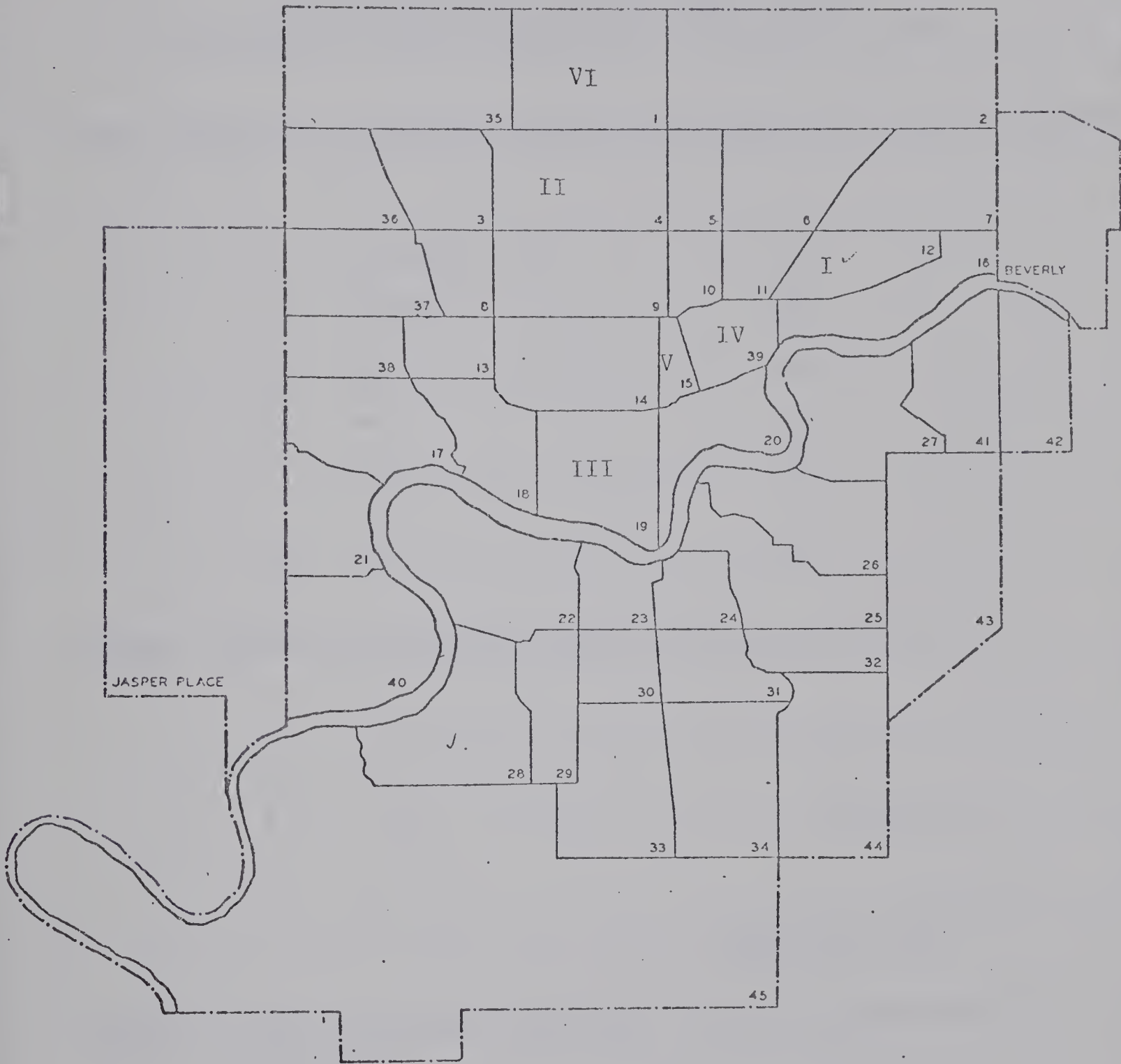
It should, however, be noted that the findings of the present exploratory study, though lending support to the theoretical claims made by H.S. Becker with respect to the school situation, is not in itself sufficient to confirm Becker's theoretical formulation. The school situation is one among many sociologically relevant areas in which stigma may be involved. Confirmation of the labelling theory must await the exploration and further refinement of the findings in the entire range of other areas of social participation by the stigmatised. Other factors than those herein considered may lead to stigma and deviance.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER VI

¹ Roy Grinker, Toward a Unified Theory of Human Behaviour, New York, Basic Books, 1956, p. 273.

² M.E. Wolfgang and F. Ferracuti, The subculture of Violence, Tavistock Publications Limited, 11, New Fetter Lane, London, EC 4, 1967, p. 3.

CENSUS TRACTS



SOLID LINES DELIMIT THE 1961 CENSUS TRACTS OF EDMONTON.

BEVERLY AND JASPER PLACE WERE CENSUS TRACTS IN 1961.

- I - "Lowlands"
- II - "Brown"
- III - "B"
- IV - "C"
- V - "D"
- VI - "E"

CHART PREPARED BY
POPULATION RESEARCH LABORATORY
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Delinquency Cases in the Census Tracts
in which the schools under study are situated: 1965

Chart prepared by Population Research Laboratory, University of Alberta*

I	- "Midlands"	<u>4</u>
II	- "Brown"	<u>3</u>
III	- "B"	<u>5</u>
IV	- "C"	<u>3</u>
V	- "D"	<u>4</u>
VI	- "E"	<u>5</u>

Legend: Number of delinquency cases per 1,000 population

1	0 - 4	4	15 - 24
2	5 - 9	5	25 and over
3	10 - 14		

City Rate: 13.3

*Source: Census of Canada, Catalogue: 95-536, Bulletin CT-21,
19-4-1961.

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SOCIOMETRIC FORM

Instructions to Students

The two questions below are designed to provide some indication of choice patterns among students. The selections made are entirely confidential, to be known only to the research team. Your contribution to this study is very much appreciated.

1. Please list below your first, second and third choice of the classmate who is most like the person you would like to be.
 - 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.
- II. Please list below your first, second and third choice of the classmate who is most like the person you would least like to be.
 - 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.

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